

The Outlook

MAY 10, 1916

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THE STORY OF THE WAR

The surrender of the British forces under Major-General Charles Townshend at Kut-el-Amara in Mesopotamia was not unexpected. Elsewhere we comment editorially on this event. The surrender was forced by a lack of supplies and the failure of the relief army to force its way to the aid of the besieged forces. The number of men surrendered is about eight thousand nine hundred and seventy; the major part of these forces were from India. General Townshend's little army, the remnant of the much larger army which marched upon Bagdad in June, 1915, had been shut up in Kut-el-Amara since last December. Forces sent to their relief, first under command of General Aylmer and later under command of General Goringe, were greatly impeded by extraordinary floods in the Tigris River and the adjacent regions. For a long time General Townshend's position had been critical. The Turkish forces in Mesopotamia were easily reinforced; while the British were far distant from their base and reinforcement was, as events proved, almost impossible.

Nearly simultaneously with the report of this disaster comes the news that the Russian forces in Asia Minor, part of which have been moving south since the capture of Erzerum, are making good progress and have captured the town of Diarbekr. This is a great distance from Bagdad—at least four hundred miles—but the Russians' capture of Trebizond and their general advance in this part of the country as well as in Persia make further successes, and even the ultimate capture of Bagdad, entirely possible.

From Verdun the news of the week ending May 3 was distinctly encouraging to the Allies. Not only were no German gains of any consequence made, but from day to day we have read of attacks originating with the French and resulting in appreciable gains both northeast and northwest of Verdun.

The German offensive is now well on in its third month.

In the campaign in Russia in the vicinity of Dwinsk and Riga the Germans report the capture, or recapture, of certain Russian positions, together with over five thousand prisoners. Increased activity is expected in this section.

THE IRISH REVOLT QUELLED

The disturbances which broke out in Dublin April 24 were by May 3 all but completely quelled, so that the authorities were able to announce that Dublin was almost in its normal condition and that the disturbances outside of Dublin were no longer threatening. One cabled account from Dublin states that the number of rebels killed in the insurrection was approximately five hundred and that fifteen hundred were wounded. There are indications, however, that these figures are overdrawn. It is commonly reported that most of the men engaged in the revolt were actually assembled on the day planned for its beginning without any knowledge of what was to be done, and supposed they were simply to engage in parades and reviews.

Four of the leaders of the revolt were tried by court martial, found guilty, and executed by shooting on Wednesday last. The self-proclaimed Provisional President of the Republic of Ireland, Peter H. Pearse, was among the four, all of whom signed the proclamation of independence; the others were James Connolly, Thomas McDonagh, and Thomas J. Clark.

The futility and unreason of this perfectly hopeless attempt by a very small minority of irreconcilable revolutionists to take advantage of Great Britain's struggle with Germany to raise the flag of rebellion in Dublin becomes more and more evident every day.

Not a little criticism has been made in Parliament and elsewhere against the alleged

weakness and inefficiency of the authorities in Ireland under the administration of Augustine Birrell as Chief Secretary for Ireland. It is said, with some force, that the officials knew that the adherents of the Sinn Fein Association and the followers of the labor agitator James Larkin were drilling, and that they should have foreseen and forestalled any outbreak. The London "Mail" says :

Mr. Birrell never asked why the volunteers existed. He knew it was not to serve against the enemy, but rather to obstruct the Imperial forces. On December 10 he declared, "evidence of their disloyalty is voluminous," yet he did nothing. If he had any policy other than merely drifting, it was to turn a blind eye to the disloyal movement. The Government persuaded itself that the treason could be overcome by resolutely looking the other way. The Government's wait-and-see policy was complicated by a hide-the-truth policy.

Mr. Asquith, in the House of Commons on May 2, stated that the Government was prepared to discuss the conduct of Mr. Augustine Birrell, a motion having been made demanding Mr. Birrell's resignation, but on the following day Mr. Birrell's resignation was reported.

Throughout this disturbing and disheartening incident the leaders of the Home Rule party, and particularly Mr. John Redmond, have been earnest and outspoken in their indignation, while the attitude of the Ulster leaders has been equally vigorous. Mr. Redmond has declared that in the South of Ireland the loyal adherents of the Home Rule party, as compared with the wild and impracticable revolutionists demanding a republic, are at least ten to one.

OUR GAME OF CHESS WITH MEXICO

Three men have been at the focus of the gaze of every one who has been interested in the Mexican situation during the past week. They are Major-General Scott, Chief of Staff of the United States Army, as famous for his diplomatic triumphs over the Indians as for his military victories over them; Major-General Frederick Funston, the man who captured Aguinaldo and the commander of our forces along the border; and General Alvaro Obregon, Carranza's Minister of War, who eclipsed Villa's glory and lost an arm in the battle of Celaya about a year ago. These three men have directed the conferences between the United States and the *de facto*

Government of Mexico which have been taking place at Juarez and El Paso.

Distinguished as they are, General Scott and General Funston have been virtually messengers, being restricted almost entirely to the deliverance of the proposals of President Wilson to the Carranza Government and to the pronouncement of a policy formed at Washington. But while General Obregon has been ostensibly only the spokesman of Carranza at this conference, he is much more than that. He is probably the most popular man in Mexico to-day and certainly the most powerful. The one-armed hero of Celaya has succeeded to the power and the glory that were Pancho Villa's. He may make and unmake Mexican history. He himself summed up his present position accurately if he said, as alleged by newspaper reports: "No musical instrument ever responded more faithfully to the touch of the master than do the Mexican people to the man of the hour. Just now I am the man of the hour."

As we go to press it is unofficially reported that the delegates to the conference have agreed to recommend to their respective Governments that an official agreement be adopted whereby the American troops shall remain in Mexico until satisfied that banditry has been wiped out and that the Carranza government is able to cope with any emergencies; but it is also rumored that the Americans will consent to fall back towards the border and "hunt" for Villa only within a restricted area. But, in any case, whatever happens, Obregon will bear watching. The chances are that he will gain by any development of the conference. If the United States assents to any course of action pleasing to the Mexican masses, those masses will give Obregon the credit. If the conference is disappointing to the Mexican people, it will be easy for Obregon to shift the blame to his nominal chief, Carranza, and then put himself at the head of a popular movement to win by force or otherwise what arbitration may fail to win.

It is significant that as Obregon grows more popular and more prominent, the rumors of his disagreement with Carranza increase.

In the meantime, to be ready for any outcome of the El Paso-Juarez conferences, both Mexico and the United States have been doing on a small scale what Europe did on a large scale during the first week of August, 1914. Mexican forces are reported moving up toward the border in great

strength, and additional units of the American army are moving down toward the border.

Figures recently published by the War Department, however, show that from March 16 to April 28, inclusive, only 5,417 recruits had been obtained to raise the army to full war strength as authorized by Congress soon after our expedition crossed the border. At this rate, it will take all summer to get the 20,000 recruits called for by the Hay Emergency Resolution, although it ought to be pointed out that the present rate of enlistment is much larger than it was before our soldiers entered Mexico.

General Pershing is rapidly pulling together his forces within Mexico into the unity that is strength. The great majority of the men under General Pershing are now reported to be "dug in" at Namiquipa, waiting on events.

Two facts stand out clearly from the Mexican muddle as this is written. First, the pursuit of Villa has virtually ceased, and the chances of ever catching him after this delay—unless it be true that he is injured—will be almost nil unless we resort to broad-scale intervention and comb the country for him. Second, Carranza co-operation thus far has been a myth. Actual efforts of the Carranzistas to assist in the hunt for Villa, if there have been any at all, have been more than outweighed by the efforts of Carranzistas to block our expedition, such as the ambushade at Parral. So far the sum total of Carranza co-operation is zero, or minus.

THE PHILIPPINE BILL IN THE HOUSE

The Administration suffered a sharp defeat on May 1, for the Clarke amendment to the Philippine Bill providing that the islands should be given complete independence within four years, which had received the specific indorsement of the President, was decisively defeated in the House of Representatives. It was this feature of the Philippine Bill which called forth the severe criticism of ex-Secretary Garrison at the time of his resignation from the Cabinet. It was this feature of the Philippine Bill which has been so severely attacked by practically all impartial students of the Philippine situation, and by an overwhelming majority of those who have made the welfare of the Philippines their primary interest.

The defeat of the Clarke amendment in

the House, after it had already passed the Senate, was brought about by the revolt of thirty Democrats acting in conjunction with the entire body of Republican Representatives. The names of these thirty Democrats are deserving of record here. They were:

Allen, Ohio.	Gallivan, Massachusetts.
Beakes, Michigan.	Griffin, New York.
Bruckner, New York.	Hamill, New Jersey.
Carew, New York.	Hart, New Jersey.
Coady, Maryland.	Hulbert, New York.
Conry, New York.	McAndrews, Illinois.
Dale, New York.	McDermott, Illinois.
Dooling, New York.	Maher, New York.
Driscoll, New York.	Olney, Massachusetts.
Eagan, New Jersey.	O'Shaunessy, R. I.
Estiponal, Louisiana.	Patten, New York.
Farley, New York.	Phelan, Massachusetts.
Fitzgerald, New York.	Riordan, New York.
Flynn, New York.	Smith, New York.
Gallagher, Illinois.	Tague, Massachusetts.

It will be observed that many of these men are Tammany Democrats from New York City, a group of men in Congress who frequently come in for no little criticism from the public press. There have been instances, however, when Tammany Democrats in Congress have seen National problems more clearly and faced them more courageously than some of their Democratic brethren from other States.

Apparently this defeat of the Clarke amendment on the floor of the House settles for the present any prospect that Congress will give any definite promise concerning the date of independence of the Philippines. As a substitute for the Philippine Bill with the Clarke amendment, the House accepted the Jones Bill with its vague promise of independence upon the establishment of a stable government and its revision of governmental organization in the Philippines in the direction of enlarging the factor of native control. The Jones Bill is by no means satisfactory to those who are most familiar with the traditions of the American occupation of the Philippines, but, compared with the Clarke amendment of the Senate bill, it is a step backward in the right direction.

SECRETARY BAKER ON PREPAREDNESS

When Secretary Baker entered the Cabinet, fear was expressed in many quarters that his appointment meant a change from Secretary Garrison's sympathetic attitude towards the view-point of the General Staff. Recent events have done much to dissipate this idea, and an

interview with Secretary Baker published in the Philadelphia "Ledger" has still further served to place the Secretary of War accurately in the public mind.

In this interview Secretary Baker was asked, "Do you favor active preparedness?" He answered:

Unquestionably. It represents a power full of possibilities for good. "Resolve and act" is the order of the day, and it is far better to overweight preparedness than to underweight it.

Mr. Baker was then asked: "How large an army, in your opinion, should the country have, to meet future requirements?" He replied:

The War College has figured it out most competently. To give us enough of a garrison to defend our overseas possessions properly and adequately to protect our coasts, these officers say we need a fully trained mobile force of 500,000 men, composed of the regular army and its militia reserve. Then, back of that, there ought to be a citizen force, not first-line troops, but troops which had received certain training. This citizen body has been put at 500,000.

Those who are strong in the belief that the experts of the army and navy are most competent to decide on the amount of preparation required to carry out the policies of the civil government will have no quarrel with the following statement made by Secretary Baker in his interview in the "Public Ledger":

Neither the soldier nor the sailor is responsible for the National policies, many of them legacies of years' standing, yet both must assume full responsibility for the amount of force necessary to maintain these policies. Not only must they determine the extent of the force required, but they must see that the state of readiness is maintained.

If Congress can only be brought to a similar understanding of the value of expert opinion, a long step away from present wasteful methods of making military and naval appropriations will have been made.

MR. ROOSEVELT IN ILLINOIS

If the attitude of the Middle West towards the question of preparedness can be judged by the reception given to Mr. Roosevelt's address on "National Duty and International Ideals," delivered before the Illinois Bar Association, the current belief that this region is in a pacifistic frame of mind is decidedly wrong.

Certainly the tremendous ovation given to

Mr. Roosevelt, when he declared for the introduction into the United States of a universal system of military service founded on a modified form of the Swiss system, was more than a mere tribute to his personality.

Mr. Roosevelt made it clear that in his championing of the cause of preparedness he had not forgotten the programme of social justice which figured so prominently in the Progressive platform of 1912. Speaking of industrial mobilization, Mr. Roosevelt said:

Preparedness must be both of the soul and of the body. It must be not only military but industrial and social. There can be no efficient preparedness against war unless there is in time of peace economic and spiritual preparedness in the things of peace. Well-meaning men continually forget this interdependence. Well-meaning men continually speak as if efficient military preparedness could be achieved out of industrial and social chaos, whereas such military preparedness would represent merely a muscular arm on a withered body.

Mr. Roosevelt emphatically indicated the side of preparedness which is of immediate importance to the defense of the country. In the general discussion of the problems of military defense, the country has too often forgotten the fact that the navy constitutes the most vital element in its security. Mr. Roosevelt said:

We need, beyond anything else, a first-class navy. We cannot possibly get it unless the naval programme is handled with steady wisdom from the standpoint of a nation that accepts the upbuilding and upkeep of such a navy as cardinal points of continuous policy. There should be no party division along these lines. A party which, whatever its views are on other subjects, stops the upbuilding of the navy or lets it be impaired in efficiency should be accepted as false to the vital interests of the American people. The navy should be trained in deep water, in salt water, and it should be trained always with one end in view—to increase its fighting efficiency.

The whole question of preparedness in Mr. Roosevelt's view is bound up with the vital issue of Americanism. "Not only," he says, "questions of elective and legislative machinery, but all questions of internal reform, must stand second to our insistence that this is one nation, the American Nation, not a mere tangle of quarreling nationalities, and second also to the duty of facing the fact that at present all moral sanctions and standards in international relations are imperiled, and that our prime duty is to fit ourselves to

defend the lives of our people and the honor and vital interest of this Nation."

In this last quotation Mr. Roosevelt has clearly stated what we believe to be the great issue of the coming Presidential campaign.

A PLATTSBURG OF THE SEA

The military training camp for civilians at Plattsburg, New York, last summer was so successful that this year there are to be similar camps at half a dozen points in the United States. What has worked so well for the army ought to work as well for the navy, and the announcement of a training course for civilians in the navy this summer is timely and welcome.

Substantially, the aim of the Navy Department in opening this training cruise for civilians is to do for the amateur tar what Plattsburg has done for the amateur soldier. The Navy Department announces that the course will begin on August 15 and will terminate on September 12, and that the training will be given on board reserve battle-ships. The course is open to any citizen of the United States between the ages of nineteen and forty-five who can pass a prescribed physical examination and who can prove that he has had a high school training and is "following a trade or occupation where experience gained would be beneficial to the Government in time of need." Undergraduates and graduates of colleges, pilots and pilots' apprentices, and those who have had six months' experience in any one of a long list of specified trades are also particularly referred to as eligible, but the above-quoted blanket clause will let in most men who can afford to give thirty days of their time and the thirty dollars which will cover everything but the applicant's traveling expenses to and from the ship. Applications must be made to any recruiting station or substation not later than June 1, and at these stations applicants can get full information as to the details of this brief naval course.

In a general way, however, the studies to be taken up will be largely optional, and recruits will have an opportunity to specialize on such subjects as navigation, signaling, engineering, etc. The object of the training cruise as announced by the Navy Department is:

"To help equip properly qualified men to act as reserves in time of war or National emergency by giving them a course of train-

ing on war-ships under naval officers and naval discipline.

"To foster a patriotic spirit and give to civilians some knowledge of the navy and the naval requirements of the country.

"To interest civilians in naval matters so that by taking future courses of training and by study many can qualify for acting commissions after taking the necessary examination."

A special appeal is made to the owners of yachts or motor boats which would be useful as auxiliaries in time of war. During the final week of the cruise the battle-ships will return to the naval districts whence they came, and here the owners of such yachts and motor boats will be given training to enable them to operate their small craft in conjunction with the big war-ships. It is not necessary that such owners take the preliminary three weeks of instruction, although it is very desirable that they do so. To be eligible for enrollment a boat must be seaworthy and able to care for a crew of at least four people for forty-eight hours.

When this course of training was announced, many nautical experts made the criticism that to put green men on a battleship and to send them to sea without any preliminary training might so dampen their enthusiasm for the navy that they would forsake it forever. This seems to be a point well made. We believe that this training course would be more useful if permanent training camps were established on the shores of such sheltered waters as Long Island Sound and Narragansett Bay, and if the first part of the course were devoted to teaching recruits naval rudiments and to getting them acclimated at such base camps.

With this single criticism, we heartily approve the plan of training cruises for civilians. The principal benefit which the country derived from the Plattsburg camp last summer, we believe, was the recognition which it aroused among civilians of the need of adequate military preparedness against war and of the need that each citizen be prepared to do his share in defending his country. The arousal of a similar interest on the side of naval affairs will be, we believe, the great benefit to be derived from this Plattsburg of the sea.

A BOY SCOUT RALLY

Any skeptic regarding the kind of military training and discipline which the Boy Scouts of America receive would have had his doubts

removed if he could have attended a rally of Boy Scouts which was reviewed by Governor Whitman, of the State of New York, in the Seventy-first Regiment Armory, New York City, on Saturday afternoon, April 29. The rally was held under the direction of the Manhattan-Bronx Council, of which Judge Franklin C. Hoyt, of the New York Children's Court, is president. From two to three thousand boys participated, and the discipline, good order, and efficiency with which they went through their various exercises and performed their various "stunts" was a remarkable demonstration of the success of the Boy Scout system. The great drill floor of the armory was filled with groups of boys going through their evolutions and performing their feats, and to the spectator it was more interesting and overwhelming than a ten-ring circus. Games, calisthenics, signaling, binding up the wounded, bicycle drills, races, tent-pitching, tying of knots, and various other feats were performed rapidly and without confusion.

Some of the performances were "stunts" indeed. One troop, for example, brought into the hall some lofty and fairly good-sized tree trunks, and, lashing them together in tripod form, raised them up like an old-fashioned barn-raising, and thus formed a signal tower perhaps twenty-five feet high. One of the boys then shinned up one of the legs of this gigantic tripod, and, clinging to the crotch at the top, went through his code of wigwag signaling. In the woods or fields this tripod could have stood partly embedded in the earth, but on the polished floor of the armory the other boys of the troop clustered up around the foot of each of the three great legs and had to hold it in place by main strength. The rapidity and skill of this maneuver would have done credit to a band of strong men trained in the art of woodcraft, mechanics, and the field operations of an army. And yet not one of the boys appeared to be over seventeen or eighteen years of age, and many of them were much younger. Every number on the programme was interesting, and the one we have briefly described is indicative of the skill and discipline which all the participants displayed.

The remarkable performances of these boys were not only a credit to their physical prowess and their quickness of intelligence, but the whole exhibition showed how interesting and how valuable a system of education might be made in this country which

would teach our boys how to do things with their hands and their minds at the same time, under discipline and with prompt obedience to orders. The work of the Boy Scout organization is a practical illustration in a voluntary organization of what might be done in the United States if we were to adopt a system of universal military service like that which is so successful in Switzerland or Australia. Perhaps it is too much to hope that the time will come when every public and private school in the United States will have a Boy Scout organization connected with it. It is, however, an ideal to be hoped and worked for.

That there is an æsthetic side to military discipline was well illustrated at this particular rally by the very exceptionally good music furnished by the military brass band of the Police Department. The music of the occasion was furnished by the police band of the city, through the courtesy of Police Commissioner Woods. The men were clad in police fatigue uniforms, and they not only played Sousa marches as well as Sousa's band itself could have played them, but they played the incidental music with unusual charm and professional skill. In his address Governor Whitman declared that he had attended few public occasions more impressive.

Our readers will remember that the Scout law requires a Scout to be trustworthy, loyal, helpful, friendly, courteous, kind, obedient, cheerful, thrifty, brave, clean, reverent. An organization which is cultivating these qualities in American boys is performing a National work of the best kind of patriotism.

A BUSINESSLIKE MAYOR

The average New Yorker does not realize how good a city government he is getting from the administration of Mayor Mitchel. He accepts clean streets, well-constructed pavements, good order maintained by the police, the reduced death rate, freedom from plague or contagious epidemics, the extension of public school work, the development of the park and playground system, the striking improvements in the docks and water-fronts, the decrease in the damage and danger of fires, the successful efforts to deal with the sick, suffering, injured, and dependents of the city in a more humane fashion—all these things he accepts without much thought of their source, as he accepts the air and sunlight. But the benefits of good municipal government are not bestowed

CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

Ireland in the Columbus Evening Dispatch



IT'S ALL UP TO THIS MAN NOW

THE KAISER'S RESPONSIBILITY

Carter in the New York Evening Sun



"ERIN GO BRAGH!"

THE IRISH OUTBREAK PLEASES GERMANY

Kirby in the New York World



"WHICH WAY TO THE TRENCHES, GENERAL?"

THE RUSSIANS REINFORCE THE FRENCH

From the Baltimore Sun



"NOW, MY LITTLE MAN, WHAT WERE YOU ABOUT TO SAY?"

UNCLE SAM'S A BUSY MAN

CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

From Simplicissimus (Munich)



THE BRITISH LION WITH PRESIDENT WILSON AS ANDROCLUS

THE LION ASKS HELP FROM AMERICA—A GERMAN VIEW

From John Bull (London)



THE PROTECTOR

Germany (to Holland): "Now look here, my lad, there's a lot o' dangerous characters knocking about here just now; you'd better let me see you safe through the wood."

GERMANY'S BENEVOLENT INTENTIONS TOWARD ANOTHER "LITTLE NATION"

From Le Pêlè-Mêle (Paris)



Householder: "What's that paper?"
Tax Collector: The tax bill for your doors and windows!"
[In France a tax is levied on the doors and windows of a house.]

THE TAX COLLECTOR COMES EVEN WHEN THERE'S NOTHING LEFT TO TAX

From Le Pêlè-Mêle (Paris)



Mother: "How's this? What are you doing with your father's pipe in the water?"
The Youngster: "Why, mother, we're playing submarines, and the pipe is the periscope!"

upon the citizens by the mere operation of natural laws with which he has nothing to do. The rain falls and the sun shines upon the just and the unjust alike; the fruits of good government, however, can be enjoyed only by those citizens who do some reasonable planting and cultivation.

The present municipal government of the city of New York is the product of a non-partisan fusion movement which resulted in the nomination of Mayor Mitchel in 1913 by the "Fusion Committee of 107," composed of representatives of the leading and often conflicting political parties of the city.

Mayor Mitchel regards the city of New York as a corporation, of which the citizens and taxpayers are the stockholders, and of which he is the executive head. He believes that he is bound to give his stockholders dividends and keep them informed of the progress of the corporation as a "going concern."

With this idea in mind, a year ago Mayor Mitchel met a group of citizens at dinner, and made a report of the accomplishments of his administration for the preceding twelve months. He has continued this excellent plan this year. Last week, at the Hotel Astor, the Committee of 107 gave a dinner to several hundred citizens, at which Mayor Mitchel reported in some detail what he and his associates in the municipal government had accomplished during the year 1915. It took the Mayor nearly two hours to deliver his address, and in print it makes a fairly good-sized booklet of 102 pages. Even in this volume he hardly does more than give a bird's-eye survey of the work of the city government. We can hardly, therefore, be expected in a paragraph to give any detailed account of the Mayor's report. The fact that several hundred men sat, not merely in patience, but with manifest interest, for two hours to listen to an account of their city government, is the best testimony to the Mayor's efficiency and skill as a public speaker and as a business executive.

New York City spends in the conduct of its municipal business about two hundred million dollars a year. What folly it is to intrust the spending of this enormous sum to a government which is run on a partisan political basis! Mayor Mitchel's report shows that, when the city is run like a business, financial economies may be made and at the same time service to the public may be greatly extended. The entire administration of the city has been put upon a

non-partisan business basis. If Mayor Mitchel is willing to become the head of this business corporation for another term, the stockholders will be very foolish if they do not avail themselves of their opportunity to re-elect him.

FEEDING WILD ANIMALS

At a time when human life is being so bloodily and ruthlessly destroyed on European battlefields, it will be a relief to our readers, we think, to turn to the remarkable picture in our alcogravure section this week which illustrates how wild animal life is being fostered and preserved in one of our great National parks. Through the courtesy of the Northern Pacific Railway Company, whose line reaches Gardiner, the northern entrance to Yellowstone Park, we have been enabled to examine a series of very unusual photographs of wild animals on the winter feeding-grounds of the Park. These photographs were taken last February by the official photographers of the railway company. The unusually heavy snowfall in the surrounding mountain regions had driven the game down from its usual feeding-grounds in large numbers to get the alfalfa hay which is harvested by the Government each year and distributed in the period of starvation time. The picture we have selected for reproduction is typical of what the tourist may see at this winter dining-room provided by Uncle Sam for his wild wards.

Yellowstone Park is the greatest natural game preserve, probably, in the world. There live in the Park between fifty and a hundred bighorn sheep, several hundred deer of both the black and white tailed species, the same number of antelope, numerous black and grizzly bears, and about three hundred buffaloes or bison. In addition, between thirty-five and forty thousand elk frequent the Park. Buffaloes, bears, antelopes, and a few deer may be seen by the summer tourist, but in the hot season the mountain sheep and elk seek the seclusion of the wild glens, ravines, and slopes high up in the hills. In the winter, however, the shyer kinds of wild animals come down to the lower levels for food. Last February there was a more remarkable gathering of these wild animals on the Government feeding-ground than has ever been seen before. More than two hundred tons of Government alfalfa were stacked awaiting their coming. From Fort Yellowstone, at Mammoth Hot Springs, comes the big four-horse hay wagon in the mornings to

the hay corral on the flats beyond the lava entrance arch at Gardiner. As soon as it appears at the mouth of the canyon, so the railway officials inform us, the elk and antelope, which usually sleep out on the lower hills above the hay bottom, begin to troop in, at first slowly in single file, and then, as those behind press forward, on the run. They mass together, reach the corral in hundreds and occasionally in thousands, and wait patiently until the wagon starts on its round of scattering the alfalfa where they can conveniently reach it.

The hay is distributed in long rows along the road, and the elk and antelope follow it like ordinary sheep or cattle. Teams, pedestrians, or photographers disturb the animals but little. Sometimes the elk move clumsily off for a rod or two, or the sheep plunge up or down the bank for a short distance. Sometimes a deer will kick its heels in the air as it runs, in sheer playfulness. Where these wild animals keep themselves before the wagon appears and how they know of its arrival is a mystery. But from the hills where they lie more or less hidden their sharp eyes, and possibly their noses, give them all the information they need.

Photographing the wild life gathered on this winter feeding-ground is a sport which furnishes many of the allurements and none of the remorse of big-game shooting. Yellowstone Park is well known to summer tourists, but here is a phase of its winter life which is well worth the consideration of the traveler and wild animal lover.

JOSIAH STRONG

In the death of Dr. Josiah Strong, April 28, our country has lost an eminent representative of a fine type of American citizenship. A patriot to his heart's core, his ideal of patriotism was not devotion to our country only, but rather to our country for the world. To him our country meant our countrymen, who make it what it is, and should make it what it must become, an inspiring example of the equality of high and low in reciprocal duties, rights, and opportunities.

Of this patriotic ideal Dr. Strong, for five of his earlier years in home missionary service, has been for the past thirty years our foremost missionary by voice and pen at home and abroad. His pioneer book, "Our Country," appeared in 1886. Pronounced by Mr. Spofford, then chief librarian of Con-

gress, "one of the best books in the world," it gave a stimulus to Christian work fairly comparable to that of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" to the anti-slavery movement. Nearly the whole of it has been republished in portions by pamphlets and the daily press, American and British, some of it even in Chinese, and it has gone into European tongues.

Other works followed rapidly, among them "The New Era," "The Twentieth Century City," "Religious Movements for Social Betterment," "The Next Great Awakening," "Social Progress," "The Challenge of the City," "Our World: The New World-Life," "Our World: The New World-Religion." This last remains unfinished. In 1898 Dr. Strong organized the American Institute of Social Service, of which he was president till his death. Organizations on its plan have been formed in five European countries and in Australia. Several of Dr. Strong's publications have been translated into European and Asiatic languages. Some have been used in our colleges, seminaries, Bible classes, prayer-meetings, and daily readings at family worship.

What the great Belgian economist, Émile de Laveleye, had asserted, "The earthly welfare of mankind was a capital principle of the Founder of Christianity," Dr. Strong saw on the face of the Gospel. He saw that its neglect by a Church intent only on the salvation of individual souls had alienated the masses of workingmen suffering under social wrongs. Only Christ's Gospel of social as well as individual salvation could regain their respect, their confidence. "Try the untried half of the Gospel," was his awakening cry. Among the now manifest signs of this "conversion of the Church to Christ" that Dr. Strong preached is the programme of social reform put forth some years ago by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ, and emphasized lately by the Men and Religion Forward Movement.

A MEMORIAL TO HARRIET BEECHER STOWE

In the spring of 1914 we were glad to publish a letter from Mrs. Susan Huntington Hooker asking the friends of Harriet Beecher Stowe to help place a memorial window in the little Church of Our Saviour in Mandarin, Florida, where Professor and Mrs. Stowe so long made their home. Before Mrs. Stowe's death, many years ago, she hoped that such a window would be

placed in the church as a memorial to Professor Stowe, who gathered the people of the little Florida community for his Bible readings first in the Stowe home and later in the school-house. It was largely through Mrs. Stowe's efforts that the church was built, and her friends felt that the time had come to place a Stowe memorial window in the church with which Professor Stowe and Mrs. Stowe were so closely and influentially associated.

Mrs. Hooker now writes us that the work of the Committee is completed, and that a beautiful memorial window has been constructed by the Tiffany Studios of New York, which the Committee believes will be a source of satisfaction to Mrs. Stowe's friends, "and the many pilgrims who come to Mandarin every year to worship at her shrine." The window is now on exhibition at the Tiffany Studios. Mrs. Hooker adds:

The first dollar that came from the appeal in *The Outlook* was from a farmer in Iowa whose mother had read "Uncle Tom's Cabin" to him when it appeared in the "National Era," and, although he was only seven years old, it had influenced his character and opinions through life.

A letter from Andrew D. White gave a most charming description of his visit to Mrs. Stowe in Mandarin; of their ride with the mule in the cart, gathering oranges in a market basket, and while eating them discussing all kinds of vital questions.

A letter from Cambridge tells of a visit as a child in the delightful Stowe home, and says that "the little buzzing Mary Draper" referred to in "Palmetto Leaves" was named for the writer of the letter.

A well-known banker in New York recalls the fact that his father was one of the students at Lane Seminary when Lyman Beecher was president and there was so much agitation over the pros and cons of slavery.

In sending a contribution from the colored school-children of Mandarin, their teacher writes: "It goes as a tribute to that noble woman who, by writing 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' achieved so much for the emancipation of their race."

A son of the artist who painted "The Signing of the Emancipation Proclamation" at the Capitol in Washington asked to share in the work; Mandarin friends who had returned to England even in the stress of war did not wish to be left out; the colored people of Mandarin, many of whom she had taught to read and write, were all glad to help. Letters and money from her old friends in Hartford and all New England have been full of reminiscences and tributes

to the quality of mind and heart that made her so dear to her friends.

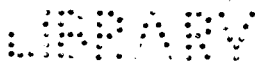
Is it not significant of the solidity and permanence of the American Union that such a memorial in honor of the author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" should be erected in a Southern State?

STRAUSS'S "ALPINE SYMPHONY"

Dr. Richard Strauss's latest work, "An Alpine Symphony," in which he returns to orchestral music after ten years spent in writing music-dramas, received its first performances in America by the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra on April 27, and by the Philadelphia Orchestra on April 28 and 29. This symphony has been much talked about since its first European performance in Berlin, on October 28, 1915, because of the enormous orchestral resources demanded (including, for example, sixteen horns, six trumpets, four tenor tubas, two bass tubas, and six trombones in the brass alone, besides such "freak" instruments as a wind machine and a thunder machine), and because of the extreme to which he has pushed in it his practice of writing programme music—music, that is, that attempts to paint scenes as well as express feelings and ideas.

There are certainly some impressive instances of musical scene-painting in the new symphony. It opens, for instance, with a picture of Night, suggested by a slow downward-creeping minor scale, each tone held until all are sounding in a cloudy mass from the stringed instruments, while the trombones solemnly announce a choral-like theme suggestive of the mountains. There is a silvery flashing Alpine cascade, pictured in gushing arpeggios of flutes, clarinets, violins, harps, and the happily named celesta. There is a truly blood-curdling storm, with ebbing and flowing noise from the gigantic orchestra fit to crack the welkin. And Strauss is such a master of the orchestra, such a magician in rich and ear-seducing sonorities, that there are many passages more nearly approaching the older idea of music which cannot but delight the ear, as a part of the "Entrance into the Woods" does, or astonish and overpower it as the tense, almost painful sounds of "On the Summit" do.

But as this typical modern German composer has gone from work to work, piling up as ever more formidable array of material means, aiming always at more exaggerated,



sensational, and crudely quantitative contrasts, subordinating the mind to the senses, the thought to the sound, expression to depiction, one has been unable to resist the suspicion that there is something fundamentally wrong in such an artistic materialism, such a policy of "frightfulness" in music. Such a policy, it would seem, too much ignores the mental, emotional, and spiritual side of art, which, though less obvious than the physical or sensuous, is, in music especially, far more vital. The essence of music is the thought, the melody. If this thought is commonplace, as it often is with Strauss, no splendor of instrumental embodiment, no glory of its flesh, so to speak, will permanently conceal the poverty of its soul. If, on the other hand, the thought is noble, profound, tender with the tenderness that comes only to a wise and chastened spirit, as so many of the melodies of that other great German of a far different ideal, Beethoven, so constantly are, then it needs no elaborate physical incorporation to make its quiet but potent appeal to our sense of beauty. The greatest of Beethoven's immortal thoughts need no more than two violins, a viola, and a violoncello to give them voice. Yet so full of meaning are they, so rich with garnered experience, with human sympathy, with spiritual aspiration, that it takes a lifetime of study to appreciate them.

Strauss is more easily approachable, infinitely more effective superficially, more satisfying to the man who listens with his ears rather than with his mind and heart. His vivid pictures appeal to many who do not yet respond to the deeper emotional power of music. He gives much, too, especially in such a masterpiece as "Till Eulenspiegel," to the purely musical faculty. But his increasing preoccupation with the body rather than the soul of art is disquieting. It indicates a materialism which may prove disastrous. For in art, as in ordinary life, it is possible in a veritable palace of luxury, fitted with "all the modern conveniences," to starve to death.

NEW GODS FOR OLD

The rapid strides made in industry and commerce during the nineteenth century by the application of science and man's inventive powers to the problems of his material existence have yet shown no indication of slackening in the twentieth century. We may be nearing the end of the era to go down in

history as marked by great inventions and industrial development, but there is nothing to indicate it. The displacement of the horse as a tractive power by the first elementary steam-engine was followed by displacement of this engine by another more complicated, the displacement of that by a type yet more advanced, and so on, till we have come to the turbine and modern complicated steam-engine. Now steam is giving way to electricity as a motive power. So new gods supplant the old.

Recently the United States launched a new dreadnought driven by electricity generated by steam. Several railways have already taken the electrical power that has worked so well on street, elevated, and subway systems and applied it to their regular passenger service. But the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Railway has recently been the first one to inaugurate an epoch in transportation by establishing the first long-distance stretch of electrified track.

The Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul is already using mainly electric locomotives over a two-hundred-and-thirty-mile section of road between Harlowton and Deer Lodge, Montana. This section includes two entire "engine divisions" and traverses the great continental divide of the Rocky Mountains as well as the main ridge of the Belt Mountains. Officials of this road promise that in a few weeks not a single steam locomotive will be left on this section. And within a few months it is planned to complete the electrification already begun of two additional engine divisions comprising a stretch of track between Deer Lodge and Avery, Idaho, making the total distance of the four divisions four hundred and forty miles of continuous electrified track.

The advantages of the electric power from the passenger's point of view are evident—less noise, no smoke, and no cinders. From the point of view of the railway management, it is said that the electric locomotive excels the steam locomotive on stiff grades, particularly in winter, when the steam-engine loses much heat by radiation. The elimination of fuel trains, coal and water stations, and ash dumping is another advantage to the railway. The electric locomotive costs more to build than the steam, but costs less to operate, has a greater tractive power, and is much more responsive to an unexpected extra demand on its strength than a steam locomotive. Of course the initial cost of supplanting steam



power with electric is great, but more and more railway men are coming to believe that in the long run the substitution pays.

THE AMERICAN ARTISTS' AID SOCIETY

The plight of the Blakelock family, to which *The Outlook* has already called the attention of its readers, also calls attention to the fact that, though we are in this country far from being as well supplied with material aid to necessitous artists and their families as is France, for instance, our artists have been endeavoring to do what they could among themselves. The result has been the formation of an Artists' Aid Society, which certainly needs wider support than it now has.

It may be said that there is no reason why a painter who becomes incapacitated or dies should receive greater material succor than if he had been in some other walk in life. Doubtless among plumbers, for instance, or bricklayers, there may be found quite as many cases appealing for aid. And yet the fact that men have enriched the world by painting beautiful pictures—pictures which go to make men finer in quality as they gaze at them, pictures which because of the inspiration of their creators awaken aspiration in the observers—certainly gives to those creators a peculiar niche in the respect, appreciation, and esteem of the public.

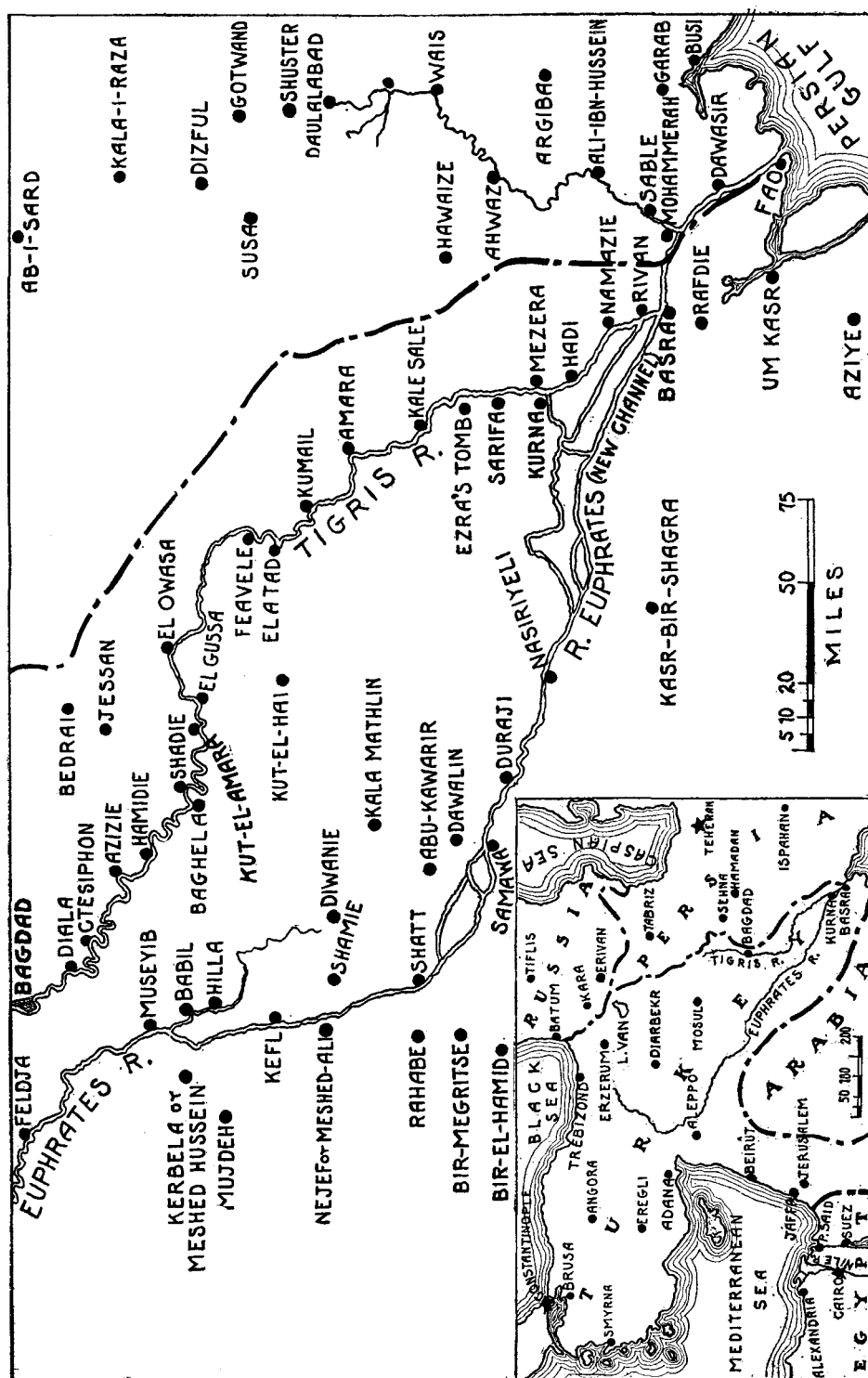
The society in question is composed of artists not over fifty years of age who maintain a fund for the families of deceased members. But such a fund is far from being sufficient to meet all needs. We should have here, if possible, the French law, which requires from all sales of pictures at public auction a small percentage for the benefit of incapacitated artists or the estates of those deceased. Should an artist have no heirs, the portion of the fund that would go to his estate is accumulated as a benevolent fund for other artists.

A plan now proposed is that artists should receive a small percentage, say two per cent, of the increase in value of their pictures from each sale. Public attention has been justly aroused by notable instances in which painters failed to realize anything like the value of their masterpieces—such an instance as the now famous "Moonlight," sold by its creator, Blakelock, for \$400, and resold a few weeks ago for \$20,000. A reproduction of this picture appears on another page.

COURAGE WITHOUT FORESIGHT

The unconditional surrender of General Townshend's forces, long besieged in Kut-el-Amara by the Turks, ends, for the present at least, England's brave but ill-considered Bagdad adventure. The loss does not in the least affect the major battle-lines of the great war; from the large military standpoint it is insignificant; it does not appreciably diminish the Allies' prospect of final success. What is important is its moral effect. The attempt was doomed to failure from the outset. English soldiers have everywhere fought well, but English generals and war councils seem slow to learn the lesson of the Boer War; over and over again—at Gallipoli, in the case of Servia (and, some would say, of Belgium), in the Balkans negotiations, and in the Mesopotamian campaign—they have moved too soon or too late; they have fought without taking account of the odds; they have been ill served by their information departments. "Dogged does it" is a capital motto, but "Haste makes waste" is equally sound. To push ahead in a bull-headed way and hope to "muddle through" somehow is disastrous. Fortunately—and again exactly as in the Boer War—hard experience has had its effect, and since this Bagdad fiasco was entered upon the reconstitution of Great Britain's war methods at home and in the field promises better foresight and judgment than were seen in Churchill's belated and weak attempt to relieve Antwerp; or in the blunders which lost the chance of breaking the Turks' defense at Suvla Bay, as frankly and convincingly told by Sir Ian Hamilton; or in the blindness as to seemingly obvious probabilities which led to this Kut-el-Amara surrender.

The Mesopotamian campaign was a huge blunder. It was to be a dash to Bagdad from the Persian Gulf—that is, a "dash" over hundreds of miles in a difficult country against a fortified enemy of unknown strength. General Townshend's army started with at least twenty-five thousand men; it surrendered less than ten thousand strong. What has become of the rest? It was sent (English newspapers say against General Townshend's judgment) up the Tigris River, with no rail communication, nearly five hundred miles from its water base, to attack whatever army the enemy might have. Victorious in its earlier actions, it was first checked at



THE WAR IN ASIA MINOR

Two recent events in the war, reported this week in The Outlook, relate to the regions shown on these maps. The surrender of General Townshend's forces took place at Kut-el-Amara, shown here on the larger map, over 100 miles southeast of Bagdad. The Russian forces moving south toward Bagdad have reached Diarbekr, about 400 miles northwest of Bagdad—see small inserted map

Ctesiphon, about twenty-five miles below Bagdad, then driven back by an overwhelming Turkish army, in part outflanked, and finally shut in by the Turks in Kut-el-Amara, over a hundred miles south of Bagdad. There it has remained for several months, while a large British relief force has again and again tried in vain to succor it. Now, his supplies exhausted, General Townshend has been forced to surrender without condition and to hand over five million dollars in money to the Turks. The story in this bare outline shows on its face that the campaign was doomed from its inception, and doomed simply because, in the expressive slang of the day, Great Britain had no idea of what it was "up against." The army of the relief expedition, it has been intimated, is itself in a dangerous situation. Bagdad may fall, but if it falls it will fall, not to England, but to the Russian forces advancing south from Erzerum and west from Persia. This may have an important influence over the relations of England and Russia as to Constantinople and Asia Minor in the final settlement after the war.

The loss of men, material, and money thus incurred by England is in such a vast war negligible, but the loss of prestige is more serious. The lesson will be a sharp admonition to England that political bickering, military red tape, and action without foresight must give way to harmony, sound leadership, and prevision, so that the valor of the fighting men may not be nullified by lack of sagacity in their leaders.

THE FIRST HUNDRED THOUSAND¹

Terence Mulvaney would like "The First Hundred Thousand." As a veteran of much fighting and a connoisseur of the failings of many recruits he would find in Ian Hay's description of the training of the first hundred thousand of Kitchener's volunteers enough food for a library of comment. If Terence is still living, we hope that Mr. Kipling has already brought to his professional attention this record of the improvised troops who are carrying the standards of Great Britain in the war.

Ian Hay's book is an intimate picture of the struggle to turn a crowd of untrained, unorganized civilians into a coherent unit, able

to take its part in the first line of attack in a great war. The picture is painted with humor and sympathy and understanding. It is a picture which deserves more than a careful study by any American citizen who is interested in the problem of National defense.

The independent American who won't take orders from anybody, who considers even self-discipline an insult to his free-born inheritance, can peruse with profit the following account of the change in the mental attitude of the recruits in Kitchener's army as the progress of their training continued:

At home we are persons of some consequence, with very definite notions about the dignity of labor. We have employers who tremble at our frown; we have trades union officials who are at constant pains to impress upon us our own omnipotence in the industrial world in which we live. We have at our beck and call a Radical M.P., who, in return for our vote and suffrage, informs us that we are the backbone of the nation, and that we must on no account permit ourselves to be trampled upon by the effete and tyrannical upper classes. Finally, we are Scotsmen, with all a Scotsman's curious reserve and contempt for social airs and graces.

But in the army we appear to be nobody. We are expected to stand stiffly at attention when addressed by an officer, even to call him "sir"—an honor to which our previous employer had been a stranger. . . . The N. C. O.'s are almost as bad. If you answer a sergeant as you would a foreman, you are impertinent; if you argue with him, as all good Scotsmen must, you are insubordinate; if you endeavor to drive a collective bargain with him, you are mutinous; and you are reminded that upon active service mutiny is punishable by death. It is all very unusual and upsetting.

But military discipline and the hard facts of experience began to break through this crust of civilian habit and misunderstanding. After a time Ian Hay writes:

Presently fresh air, hard training, and clean living begin to weave their spell. Incredulous at first, we find ourselves slowly recognizing the fact that it is possible to treat an officer deferentially or carry out an order smartly without losing one's self-respect as a man and a trades-unionist. . . .

We are getting less individualistic, too. We are beginning to think more of our regiment and less of ourselves. At first this loyalty takes the form of criticising other regiments because their marching is slovenly or their accouterments dirty or—most significant sign of all—their discipline is bad. We are especially critical of our own Eighth Battalion, which is fully three weeks younger than we are, and is

¹ The First Hundred Thousand. By Ian Hay. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. \$1.50.

not in the first hundred thousand at all. In their presence we are war-worn veterans. We express it as our opinion that the officers of some of these battalions must be a poor lot. From this it suddenly comes home to us that our officers are a good lot, and we find ourselves taking a queer pride in our company commander's homely strictures and severe sentences the morning after pay night. Here is another step in the quickening life of the regiment. *Esprit de corps* is raising its head, class prejudice and dour "independence" notwithstanding.

This attitude of mind is not gained except at the cost of hard knocks and weary commands. There are those whose infractions of the military law lead them into serious trouble. There are those whose ignorance is a high stumbling-block on the road to the making of a soldier, and there are those who, like "Wee Pe'er," have hearts too big and courage too great for the strength that is in their bodies. Ian Hay's story of Wee Pe'er is too long to retell, but it will be found to deserve many re-readings. The tragedy of Wee Pe'er and the story of the triumph of discipline and order belong to the later chapters of the book. In these chapters, as in the earlier record of the first elementary drills, there are many incidents made memorable by the Scotch dialect which Ian Hay uses so tellingly. There is the incident of the corporal who began (but did not complete) an explanation in the midst of a drill as to the reason why he had not passed an order more clearly:

I was sittin' doon tae ma dinner on Sabbath, sir, when my front teeth met upon a small piece bone that was stickit in—

There is Private Mucklewame, who, when asked to describe a scout, replied, "They gang oot in a procession on Setterday efternoons, sirr, in short breeks."

There is Private McSlattery, whose knowledge of geography is, to say the least, somewhat limited. It was Private McSlattery who, feeling that he was being kept back from the war for no good and sufficient reason, voiced the following complaint after he had been kept on parade for two hours in a northeast wind for the edification of certain spectacled dignitaries from the Far East:

"This regiment," he announced, "is no' for the front at all. We're jist tae bide here for tae be inspectit by Chinese Ministers and other heathen bodies!"

As Ian Hay explains, for Private McSlattery the word Minister could have only one sig-

nificance, and his strictures were occasioned by sectarian rather than by racial prejudice.

We recommend "The First Hundred Thousand" to students of Scotch, students of war, students of peace, and to students of good reading. If it comes into the hands of any one not included in this list, we recommend that it be read, anyhow, even if no specific excuse can be found for its perusal.

WHAT JESUS CHRIST THOUGHT OF HIMSELF

Coming to my table the other morning, I found laid upon it a letter from a correspondent asking me, "In what way can the divinity of Christ be proven?" and at the same time also a little book by Anson Phelps Stokes entitled "What Jesus Christ Thought of Himself,"¹ which seems to me to answer the inquiry of my correspondent. Not, indeed, exactly. It is not an argument to prove the traditional theory of Christ's divinity. It refuses to define, or even to consider, the metaphysical relations of the Son to the Father in a theological Trinity. Its author concedes that some conservatives will think his conclusions unorthodox and not consistent with Nicene theology. I am much more concerned myself to reach conclusions consistent with common sense and the teachings of Jesus Christ and his immediate Apostles; and that this little book does so successfully that I make no apology for reporting its substance and its conclusions here.

Jesus Christ lived a thoroughly human life; he grew not only in stature but in wisdom. He was not only hungry, thirsty, weary, but he was sensitive, and at times sad, lonely, perplexed, sorely tempted. He was conscious of the limitations of his power and the limitations of his knowledge. Offices in the kingdom of God he said it was not his to give; knowledge of the time of his second coming he said that he did not possess. In matters outside of the sphere of the soul's positive religious life and experience his information was based on that of his place and time. He constantly recognized the source of his wisdom and of his power to be not in himself but in his Father: "The Father hath sent me;" "My doctrine is not mine, but his that sent me;" "As the Father said unto me, so I speak;" "No man can

¹What Jesus Christ Thought of Himself. By Anson Phelps Stokes. The Macmillan Company, New York. \$1.

come unto me, except the Father which hath sent me draw him." To his Father he appeals in every crisis of his life. "It is not merely to a 'better self' within that he directs his appeals, but to the eternal God. . . . In communion with God alone does complete peace and assurance come to his soul. . . . Take communion with God out of his life and there might be left us an ethical ideal, but surely there would be no religion, no redeeming power. Jesus Christ lived a human life, deriving his being and drawing his inspiration from a divine source."

With this consciousness of human limitation and human dependence there is equally clearly revealed another, but certainly not inconsistent or antagonistic, consciousness.

He was conscious of fulfilling the Old Testament; conscious of speaking with an authority transcending that of the revered traditions of his time; conscious of a right to set aside directly ancient forms and ceremonies, such as fastings and washings, and, indirectly, by a liberal interpretation, observances as sacred as those of the Sabbath day; conscious of filling to the full the ancient hopes of Israel of a coming Messiah who would bring in the kingdom of God—a consciousness affirmed in his first recorded sermon in Nazareth, and reiterated under the solemn sanction of an oath in the trial for his life before the Sanhedrin.

In this spiritual consciousness of Jesus Christ as it is recorded in the fragmentary biographies which we possess there are two characteristics which are absolutely unique in spiritual biography. In his utterances there are no expressions of repentance and no expressions of aspiration. In them there is no parallel to Paul's, "The good that I would I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I do;" no parallel to the Psalmist's, "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God." Jesus looks back upon his life's past without regret; he looks forward to his life's future without eagerness. His spiritual experience is not that of a seeker after God; it is that of one who has found God and is at rest in him.

The secret of this combined self-consciousness in Jesus Christ—this consciousness of the human and of the divine—Dr. Stokes finds in the teaching of the first chapter of the Bible, that God created man in his own image; that it was God's spirit breathed into man that made him a living soul, and gave him the capacity of communion with his Father in

heaven. To Jesus the human and the divine are not essentially unlike, but kindred, and God is first of all one. "The historical Jesus was not in his own mind equivalent to, or an integral and essential part of, the Godhead. . . . It does not seem possible, without restricting the idea of Deity, to call him, as he walked on earth, God, and we cannot believe that he would have himself liked to be so called." The power he possessed was divine. It came from God. The spirit which entered his soul was the Eternal Spirit. Prophet he was indeed, but something infinitely greater too—revealer and revelation of the love of God. He not merely preached it and proclaimed it, but he manifested it, through his own life of perfect righteousness and service. And "it is this realization in one man of God's purpose for all men, rather than any difference of essence or potentiality between Jesus and his brethren, that makes him, as far as we know, the only perfect Son of the one Father." "God is trying to incarnate himself in every one of us, and it is to be hoped that some day we may all realize our latent divinity, as did Jesus of Nazareth, and be in a measure Christs—perfect men in love and faith. . . . If ever that day comes, the uniqueness of Jesus Christ will stand out the more prominently, as without him it would have been impossible to reach his level." This uniqueness of Jesus Christ, this manifestation of God in Jesus of Nazareth, "is not necessarily dependent upon any theory as to his birth. The believer in the Virgin Birth and the believer in the natural birth of Jesus may both place their faith in the same Incarnation."

Dr. Stokes has rendered a real and important service to the Christian Church, and especially to young and thoughtful men and women, by this statement of spiritual faith in the terms of a rational philosophy. We agree with him that it is not in accord with the traditional theology of the past; and it is in accord with the Nicene Creed only as the Nicene Creed is regarded as an emotional, not a philosophical expression, as the utterance not of an opinion but of a profound reverence. But whether it is in accord with creeds ancient or modern, theologies old or new, is not important if it is in accord with the teachings of Jesus concerning himself and the teachings of the Apostles concerning him.

It did not come within the purpose of Dr. Stokes to consider the apostolic teachings, and it would make this article altogether too long if I were to attempt an interpretation,

or even a full report, of those teachings. It must suffice to say here that there is scarcely any title which the Apostles give Jesus which they do not also give in a modified form to his disciples. He is the Son of God, and we are sons of God. He sits upon the throne and reigns, and we reign with him. He is the Light of the World, and we are to be lights in the world. He is the Good Shepherd, and we are appointed to shepherd the sheep intrusted to us. He is the temple in which God dwells, and every Christian is a temple in which God dwells. He is clothed with divine power, and we are bid to be clothed with the whole armor of God. He is holy, and we are called to be holy as he is holy. He forgives sins, and we are told that whosoever sins we forgive, they shall be forgiven. He is one with the Father, and he prays for his disciples that they may be

one with him and the Father. In him dwells all the fullness of the Godhead bodily, and we are directed to pray that, being rooted and grounded in love, we also may be filled with all the fullness of God.

It is one thing to say that Jesus Christ was like other men. It is quite another thing to say that other men may become like Jesus Christ. No interpretation of the character, life, and mission of Jesus Christ conforms to either his teaching concerning himself or the teaching of the Apostles concerning him and his disciples which does not recognize the truth that God's ideal for his children is that explicitly affirmed by Christ's beloved disciple, "As he is, so are we in this world."

The way to learn whether the life and character of Jesus are divine or not is by an endeavor to live that life and to attain that character.

LYMAN ABBOTT.

THE OLD WAY OF DEALING WITH CRIMINALS

IN 1821 Sydney Smith thus described the average county jail of England:

"There are, in every county in England, large public schools, maintained at the expense of the county, for the encouragement of profligacy and vice, and for providing a proper succession of house-breakers, profligates, and thieves. They are schools, too, conducted without the smallest degree of partiality or favor, there being no man (however mean his birth or obscure his situation) who may not easily procure admission to them. The moment any young person evinces the slightest propensity for these pursuits he is provided with food, clothing, and lodging, and put to his studies under the most accomplished thieves and cutthroats the county can supply. There is not, to be sure, a formal arrangement of lectures, after the manner of our universities; but the petty larcenous stripling, being left destitute of every species of employment and locked up with accomplished villains as idle as himself, listens to their pleasant narrative of successful crimes, and pants for the hour of freedom that he may begin the same bold and interesting career."

This is a perfectly true picture of the prison establishments of many counties in England, and was true, till very lately, of almost all; and the effects so completely answered

the design that in the year 1818 there were committed to the jails of the United Kingdom more than one hundred and seven thousand persons, a number supposed to be greater than that of all the commitments in the other kingdoms of Europe put together.

The county jails in America were sometimes worse and rarely better. Mr. John Bach McMaster thus describes a jail in Connecticut as it existed fifty years after peace with Great Britain had been declared:

"For more than fifty years after the peace there was in Connecticut an underground prison which surpassed in horrors the Black Hole of Calcutta. This den, known as the Newgate Prison, was in an old worked-out copper mine in the hills near Granby. The only entrance to it was by means of a ladder down a shaft which led to the caverns underground. There, in little pens of wood, from thirty to one hundred culprits were immured, their feet made fast to iron bars and their necks chained to beams in the roof. The darkness was intense, the caves reeked with filth, vermin abounded; water trickled from the roof and oozed from the sides of the caverns; huge masses of earth were perpetually falling off. In the dampness and the filth the clothing of the prisoners grew moldy and rotted away, and their limbs became stiff with rheumatism. The Newgate Prison was

perhaps the worst in the country, yet in every county were jails such as would now be thought unfit places of habitation for the vilest and most loathsome of beasts. . . .

"Into such pits and dungeons all classes of offenders of both sexes were indiscriminately thrust. It is therefore not at all surprising that they became seminaries of every conceivable form of vice, and centers of the most disgusting diseases. Prostitutes plied their calling openly in the presence of men and women of decent station and guilty of no crime but an inability to pay their debts. Men confined as witnesses were compelled to mingle with the forger besmeared with the filth of the pillory and the fornicator streaming with blood from the whipping-post, while here and there among the throng were culprits whose ears had just been cropped, or whose arms, fresh from the branding-iron, emitted the stench of scorched flesh. The entire system of punishment was such as cannot be contemplated without mingled feelings of pity and disgust."

In 1884 General Brinkerhoff described the American jail as it existed then, and as, it must be added, it exists to-day in many parts of the country :

"To establish a school of crime requires (1) teachers skilled in the theory and practice of crime ; (2) pupils with inclination, opportunity, and leisure to learn ; (3) a place of meeting together. All these requirements are provided and paid for by the public in the erection, organization, and equipment of county jails and city prisons. With less than half a dozen exceptions, all the jails and city prisons in the United States are schools of this kind, and it is difficult to conceive how a more efficient system for the education of criminals could be devised. . . . Every observant jailer knows with what devilish skill the professors of this school ply their vocation. Hour after hour they beguile the weariness of enforced confinement with marvelous tales of successful crime, and the methods by which escape has been accomplished. If attention fails, games of chance, interspersed with obscene jokes and ribald songs, serve to amuse and while away the time. In this way the usual atmosphere of a jail is made so foul that the stamina of a saint is scarce strong enough to resist. Let a prisoner attempt to be decent, and to resist the contaminating influences brought to bear upon him, especially in a large jail, and he will find that, so far as personal comfort is

concerned, he might as well be in a den of wild beasts."

Thomas Mott Osborne in his volume "Within Prison Walls" gives an account of his experience in one of the punishment cells of Auburn Prison :

"The jail is admirably situated for the purpose of performing the operation of breaking a man's spirit ; for it has on one side the death chamber and on the other the prison dynamo with its ceaseless grinding, night and day. It is a vaulted stone dungeon about fifty feet long and twenty wide. It is absolutely bare except for one wooden bench along the north end, a locker where the jail clothes are kept, and eight cells arranged in a row along the east wall and backing on the wall of the death chamber. The eight cells are of solid sheet iron—floor, sides, back, and roof. They are studded with rivets projecting about a quarter of an inch. At the time that Warden Rattigan came into office there was no other floor ; inmates slept on the bare iron—and the rivets ! The cells are about four and a half feet wide, eight feet deep, and nine feet high. There is a feeble attempt at ventilation—a small hole in the roof of the cell ; which hole communicates with an iron pipe. Where the pipe goes is of no consequence, for it does not ventilate. Practically, there is no air in the cell except what percolates in through the extra heavily grated door.

"In none too pleasant a frame of mind toward prison officialdom, I enter my iron cage. It is the first one of the eight and is absolutely empty of everything except a papier-mâché bucket. There is no seat, no bed, no mattress or bedding, no place to wash, no water to wash with, nothing—except the bucket. . . .

"A convict trusty who now appears within the radius of the electric light hands me a round tin can, and the grated door is banged to and locked. I take my seat upon the floor and await developments.

"Soon the trusty hands me, through an extra large slot in the door, a roll of pieces of newspaper, evidently intended for possible toilet purposes. There soon follows a slice of bread, and then there is poked through the slot the end of a long tin funnel which holds a precise measure of water. I hold my tin can to the end of the funnel and receive a gill—neither more nor less than exactly one gill—which is to last me through the night. I never appreciated before what a small quantity is measured by a gill. The water

covers the bottom of my tin can to the depth of about an inch and a half.

"And three gills of water is all the inmates of this place are allowed in twenty-four hours.

"And up to the time that Warden Rattigan took office and first visited the jail all

the water a man here was allowed in twenty-four hours was one gill!"

What do our readers think of these illustrations of the method commonly pursued to-day in civilized America for the cure and prevention of crime?

THE GARMENT TRADE AND THE MINIMUM WAGE

AN INTERVIEW WITH
DR. HENRY MOSKOWITZ

PRESIDENT OF THE NEW YORK MUNICIPAL CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

Dr. Henry Moskowitz knows labor conditions in New York City as an industrial center as well, perhaps, as any other citizen. He was secretary of the Board of Arbitration under the Protocol for five years. He recently sent The Outlook an article dealing with the psychology and philosophy of labor conflicts. As a result of reading this article we asked him to tell us about his own personal experience. He kindly consented, and this interview is the result.

Especial interest is added to Dr. Moskowitz's discussion of labor conditions by the great labor dispute between employers and employees in the cloak, suit, and skirt manufacturing shops in New York. From 30,000 to 60,000 employees are without employment as the direct result of a lockout declared by the employers, at once followed by the declaration of a general strike by the employees. The unions claim to be willing to arbitrate and assert that the employers have refused to arbitrate, that they have treated with contempt the Mayor's Conciliation Board formed some time ago to handle just such matters, and that the employers intend to fight organized labor (that is, the unions) to a finish. The manufacturers say that the unions not only demand the closed shop but that they insist that the employers should practically act as collectors of union dues and that the employees' demands as to working conditions and pay are exorbitant and unfair.—THE EDITORS.

WHERE is the waist or cloak made that the farmer's wife in Wisconsin wears?

Chiefly in the biggest market of the United States for women's industries, which is the city of New York. Compared with New York City, the markets in Cleveland, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Boston are small.

Are those garments made in factories that look like steel works or places where they make machines?

They were made until ten years ago in sweat-shops. Now the great bulk of work is made in factories in the big loft buildings that look like office buildings, such as those across the street here, opposite The Outlook's office, or in similar factories which are located west of Broadway.

Do the people who make these garments get good wages?

The unskilled people have been getting poor annual wages; the very skilled people have been getting increasingly better wages.

Can they be considered living wages?

For the skilled operators, yes, their annual

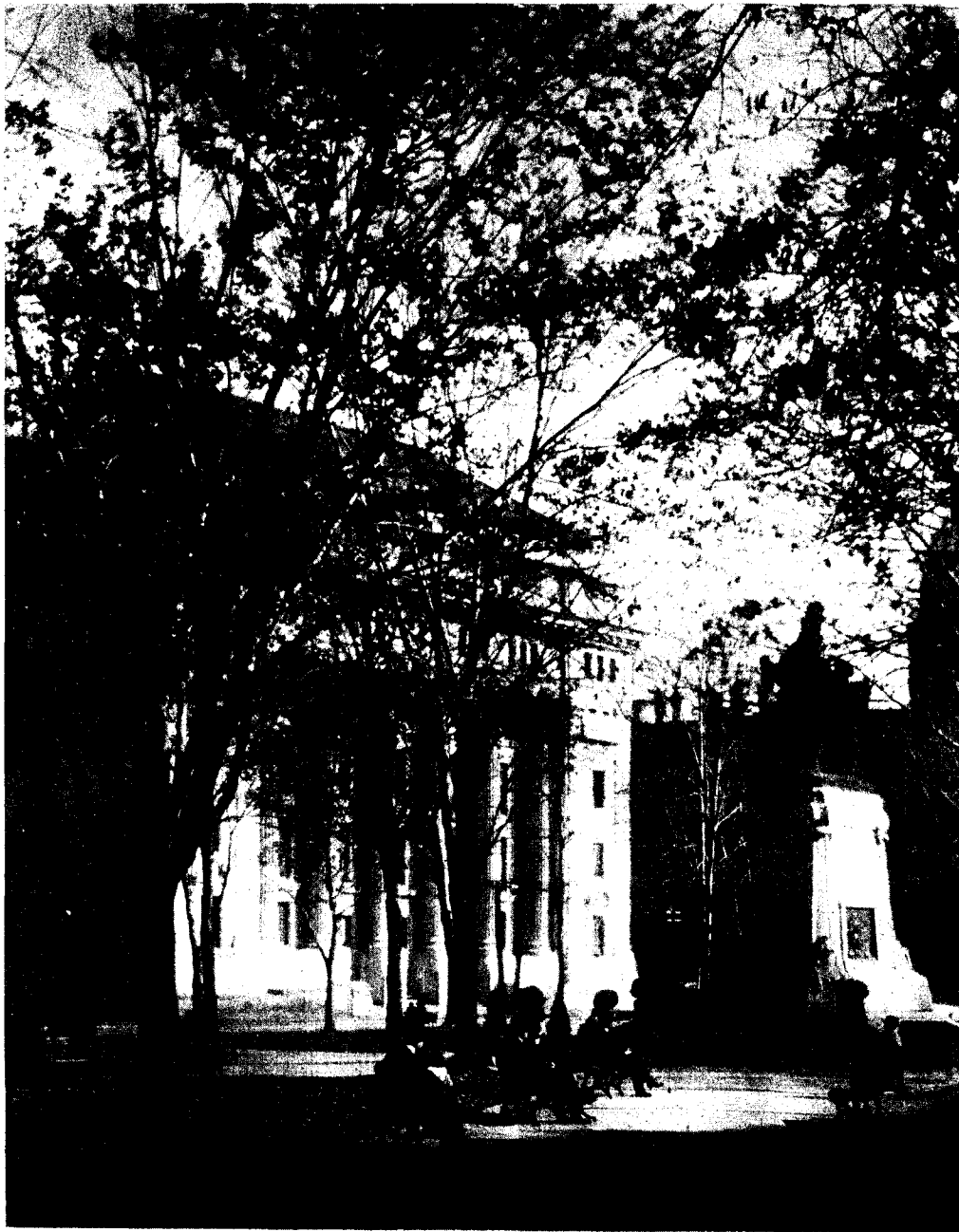
wage is a living wage; for the unskilled workers, no. This is a seasonal industry. A worker may be getting a good wage during the period she works, but the actual wage may not be sufficient to pay all her expenses for the year. Most of them are women workers in the waist industry, and most of the workers in the cloak industry are men.

In your boyhood days did you know these people?

Yes. I even worked in a sweat-shop for a short time—in a tailor shop. I lived with these people and was brought up with them. I was brought up on the lower East Side of New York, which now consists of tenement-houses, and in my boyhood days of many sweat-shops. Many of these sweat-shops have now been removed, owing to the activity of the unions and of the social workers, to progressive legislation, to the removal of the trade to new buildings in better districts, and to the natural progress of the industry itself. But the congestion on the East Side was chiefly due to the fact that these factories were located near

(Continued on page following illustrations)

Current Events Pictorially Treated



PHOTOGRAPH BY C. M. BARNARD

DOMINION SQUARE, MONTREAL

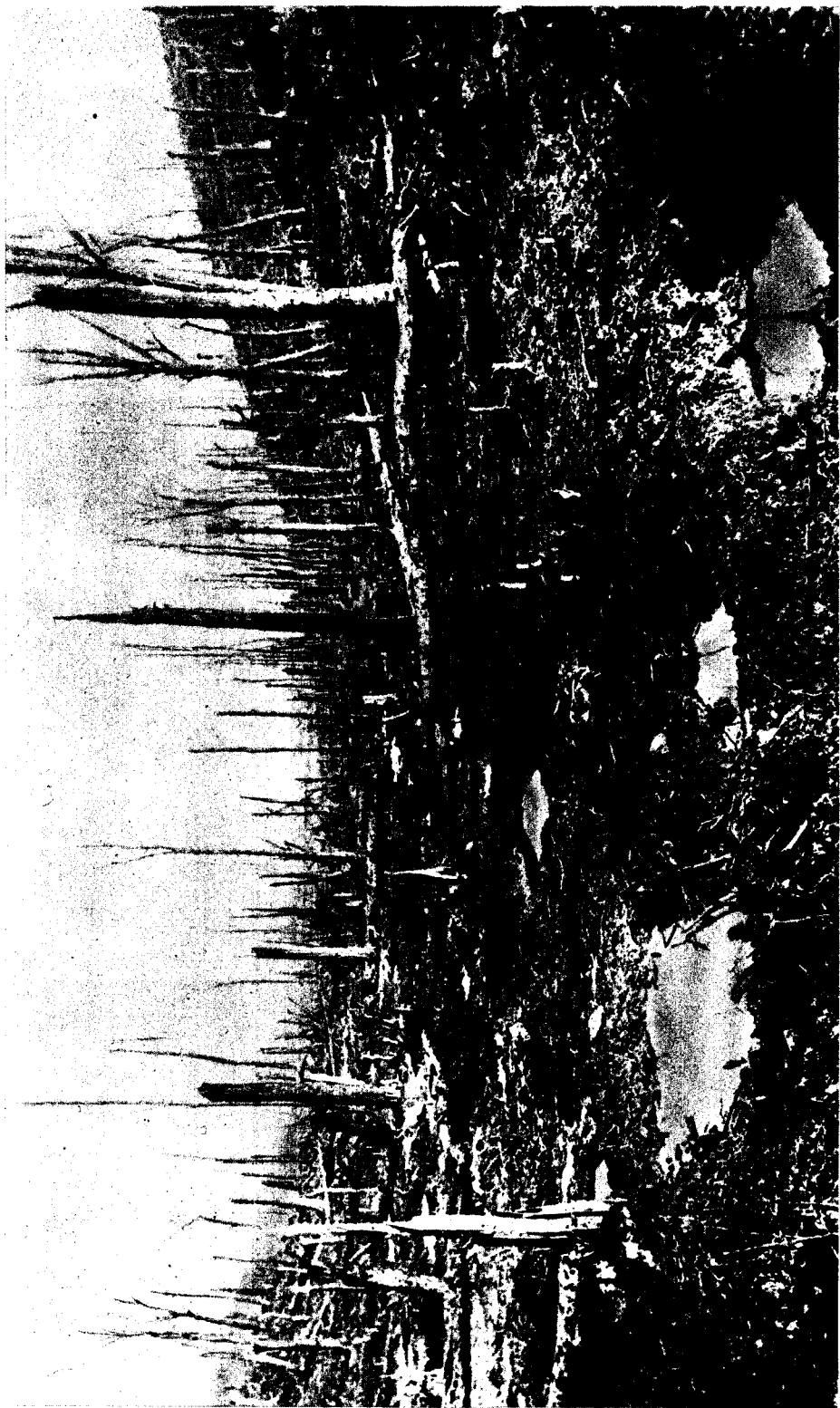
This attractive photograph of a business center in a city that is usually pictured as the home of snow and ice presents an aspect which is fully as characteristic as the winter scenes, though less familiar to most Americans. The new building at the left is the home of a prominent life insurance company



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A GREAT CONFERENCE OF THE ALLIES IN PARIS

To co-ordinate their operations more effectively the Allied Powers recently held a very important conference in the French capital. Some of the distinguished delegates are easily recognizable in the photograph. At the extreme left of the picture is Mr. Asquith, England's Premier; to the right, a little farther on, Mr. Lloyd George's face is turned toward the reader; the figure in the center, with his back to the reader, is Lord Kitchener; at his right, at the table, is Sir William Robertson, British Chief of Staff, with a military aide behind him; behind the aide sits Premier Salandra, of Italy; and at the extreme right of the picture is General Cadorna, the great military figure of Italy; at the center of the table in the background of the picture sits Mr. Pachtich, the Servian Premier, patriarchal in his white beard. Among the other figures in the background are General de Castelnau, General Joffre, M. Briand, Premier of France, and General Roques



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AFTER THE BOMBARDMENT—WOODS NEAR VERDUN

This is not, although it might well be, a picture of a fire-devastated forest in the White Mountains or Michigan. While Americans may gaze with pity at the desolation wrought by war as here shown, they may see many similar examples of devastation in this country, the result of carelessness no less destructive than cannon shot. Vast tracts of valuable forest are destroyed by fire every year in the United States through the carelessness of campers, the scattering of sparks by locomotives, or the indifference of people who throw lighted matches by the roadside



COURTESY OF THE ARLINGTON ART GALLERIES

"THE DOVES OF THE GARDEN," BY SEÑOR DON ERNESTO VALLS, OF VALENCIA, SPAIN

Señor Valls is a pupil and friend of the great Spanish master Sorolla. It will be remembered that an exhibition of Sorolla's works in New York a few years ago opened the eyes of the American public to the significance and charm of modern Spanish art. Señor Valls's work has been highly praised by both American and foreign critics

TWO NOTABLE PICTURES IN RECENT

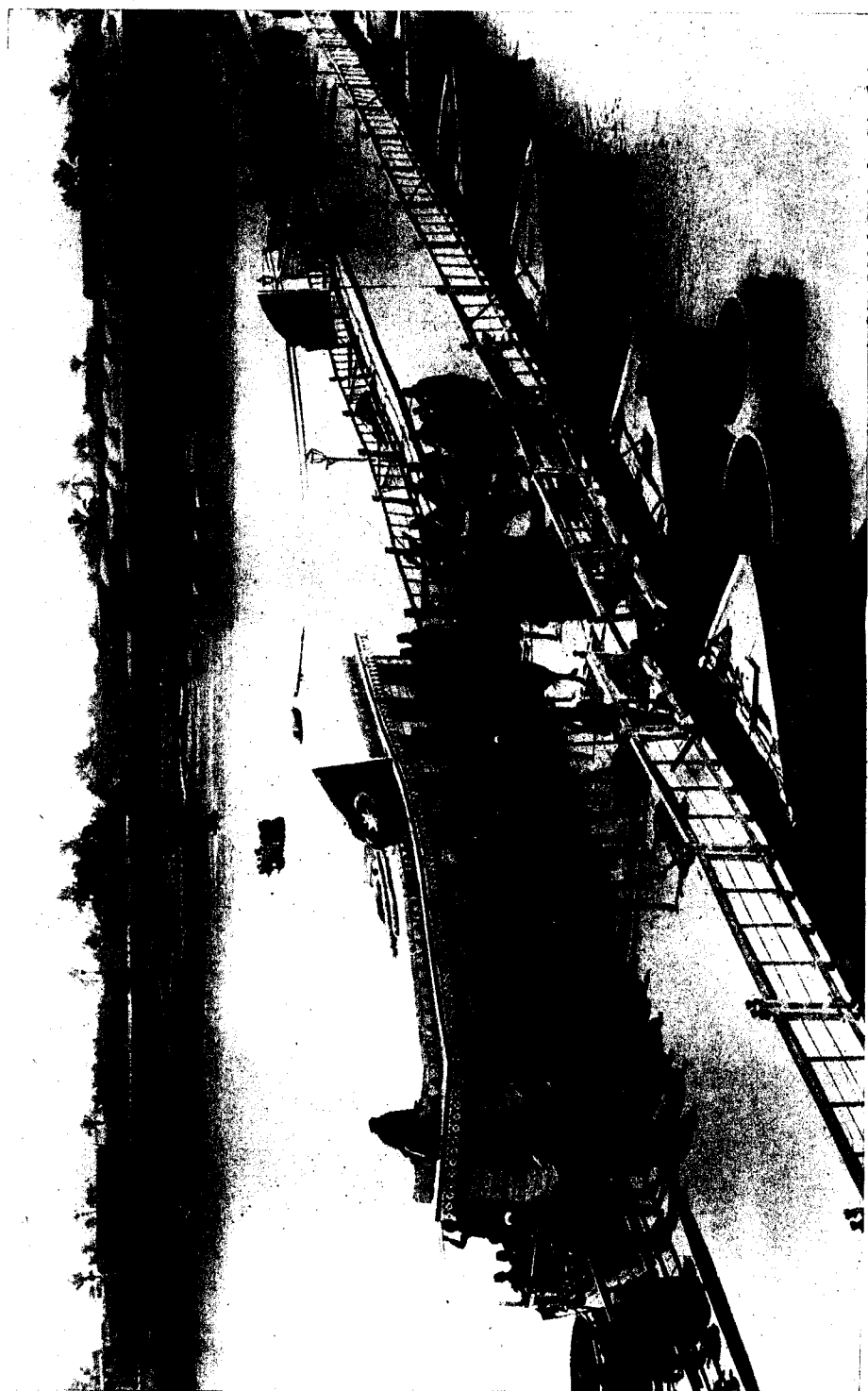


COURTESY OF HENRY REINHARDT & SON

"THE BROOK BY MOONLIGHT," BY RALPH A. BLAKELOCK

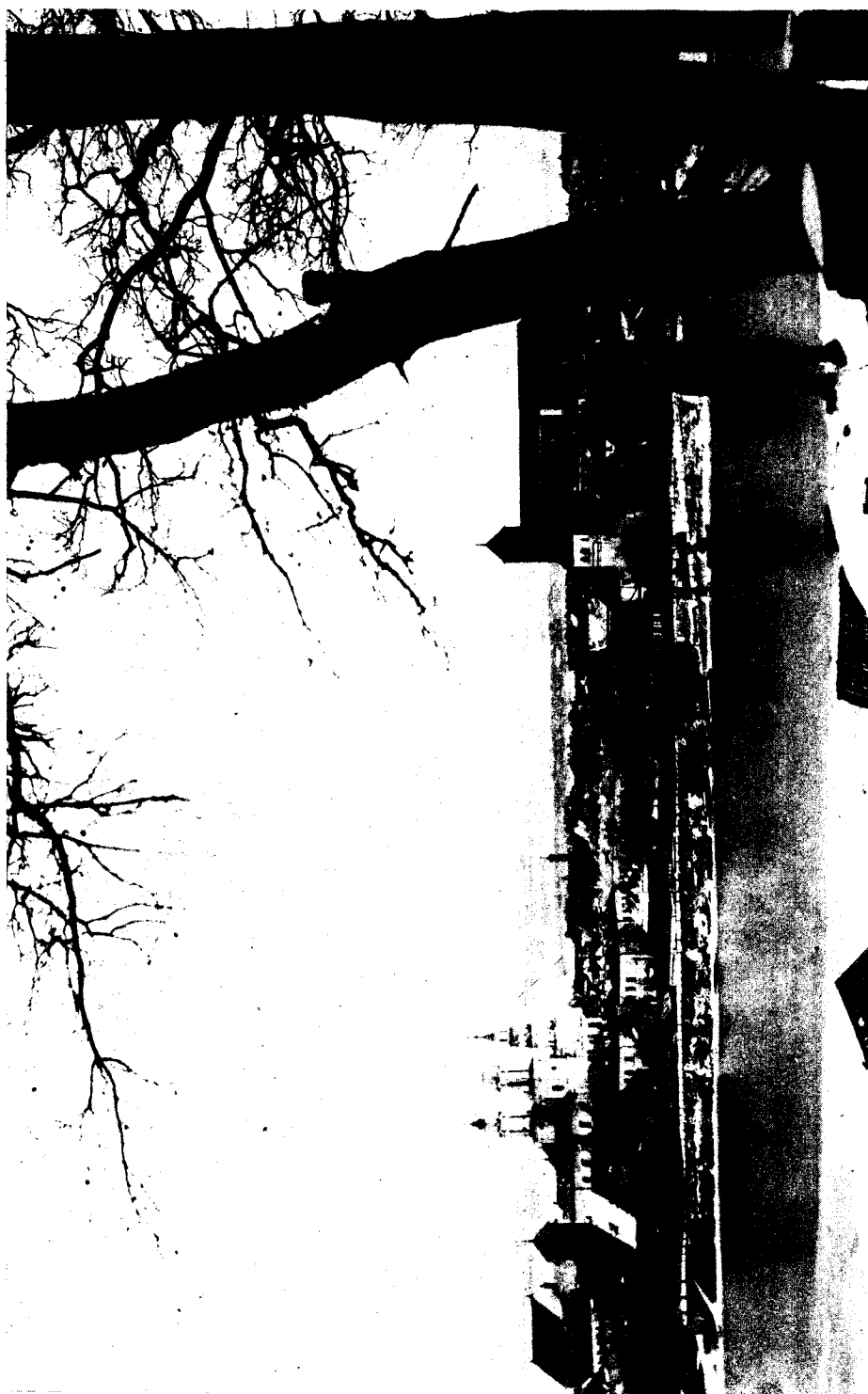
This famous picture has become the property of the Toledo Museum of Art. It was formerly in the Lambert Collection, and was sold for \$20,000. Notwithstanding the mental trouble which has put an end to Mr. Blakelock's artistic career, he has just been made a National Academician, the greatest honor his fellow-artists can confer upon him

NEW YORK CITY EXHIBITIONS



PHOTOGRAPH FROM REDEM PHOTO SERVICE

A CITY OF OLD ROMANCE WHICH THE BRITISH AND RUSSIANS HAVE BEEN ENDEAVORING TO CAPTURE
Bagdad, a portion of which is shown in the picture, has been familiar to generations of English and American readers as the scene of many of the tales of the "Arabian Nights;" it is now brought into the limelight of stern modern conditions as a prominent objective of the great war. Turkish artillery may be seen in the photograph crossing the bridge, which spans the Tigris River



PHOTOGRAPH FROM PAUL THOMPSON

A PEACEFUL SCENE IN THE MIDST OF A WAR-DESOLATED LAND

The picture shows the Niemen River at Kovno, in Russian Poland. While there has been fierce fighting at other points on the Niemen, Kovno was surrendered to the Germans without being bombarded, and in evacuating the city its Russian owners did not attempt to destroy it. In this war it has fared better than at other times in its long history, for in 1655 it was plundered and burned by the Czar Alexis. Kovno has long been an important center of trade between Russia and Prussia



COURTESY OF THE NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAY CO.

IN THE NATION'S GREAT GAME PRESERVE—A

See editorial comment on present conditions in this



WINTER SCENE IN YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK

earliest reservations for the conservation of wild life



PAINTED BY JOHN TRUMBULL

PORTRAITS OF GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER AND MRS. SCHUYLER

These portraits, a recent bequest of the Schuyler family, come from "Nevis," the name of the Schuyler estate in New York. Though the association with Hamilton lends special interest to these portraits, General Schuyler's record is well known. He married Catherine Van Rensselaer, whose portrait by an unknown artist appears above; died in 1804, a year



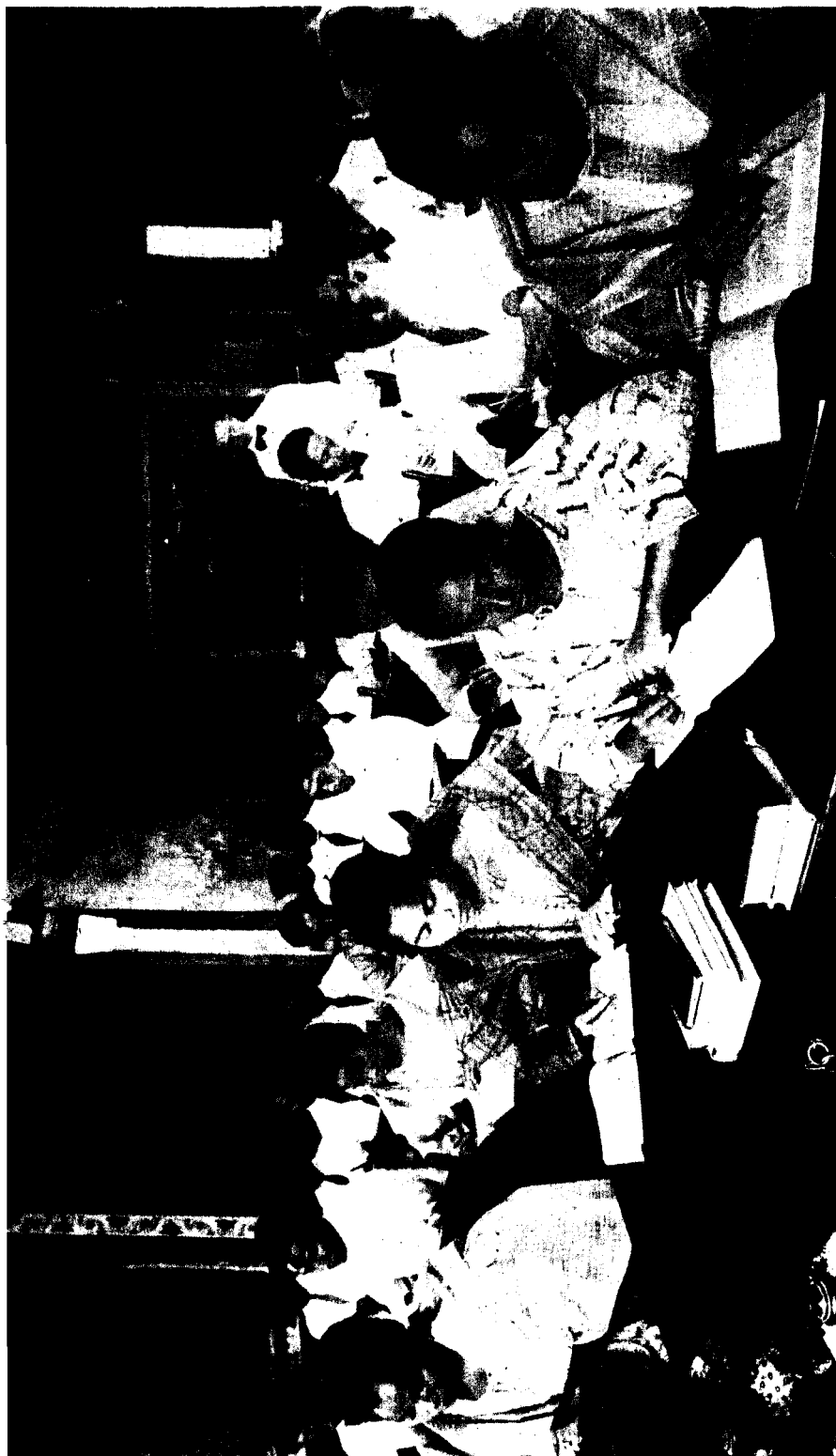
RECENT ACQUISITIONS OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

York, so called in memory of the birthplace in the West Indies of Alexander Hamilton, son-in-law of General and Mrs. as a Revolutionary soldier has given him an honorable place in American history. He was born in 1733; in 1755 after the death of his wife and shortly after the death his famous son-in-law in the duel with Aaron Burr



PHOTOGRAPH FROM PRESS ILLUSTRATING COMPANY

CLASS IN COOKING, PHILIPPINE TEACHERS' VACATION ASSEMBLY



PHOTOGRAPH FROM PRESS ILLUSTRATING COMPANY

ADVANCED CLASS IN SHORTHAND, PHILIPPINE SCHOOL OF COMMERCE

AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE PHILIPPINES

Those who are inclined to belittle the civilizing work of the United States in its administration of the Philippine Islands may well study these pictures, with their object-lessons as to enlightened educational methods in both business pursuits and domestic science



PHOTOGRAPH FROM PRESS ILLUSTRATING COMPANY

CHILDREN AT PLAY ON THE ROOF OF THE NEW YORK CHILD'S HOSPITAL

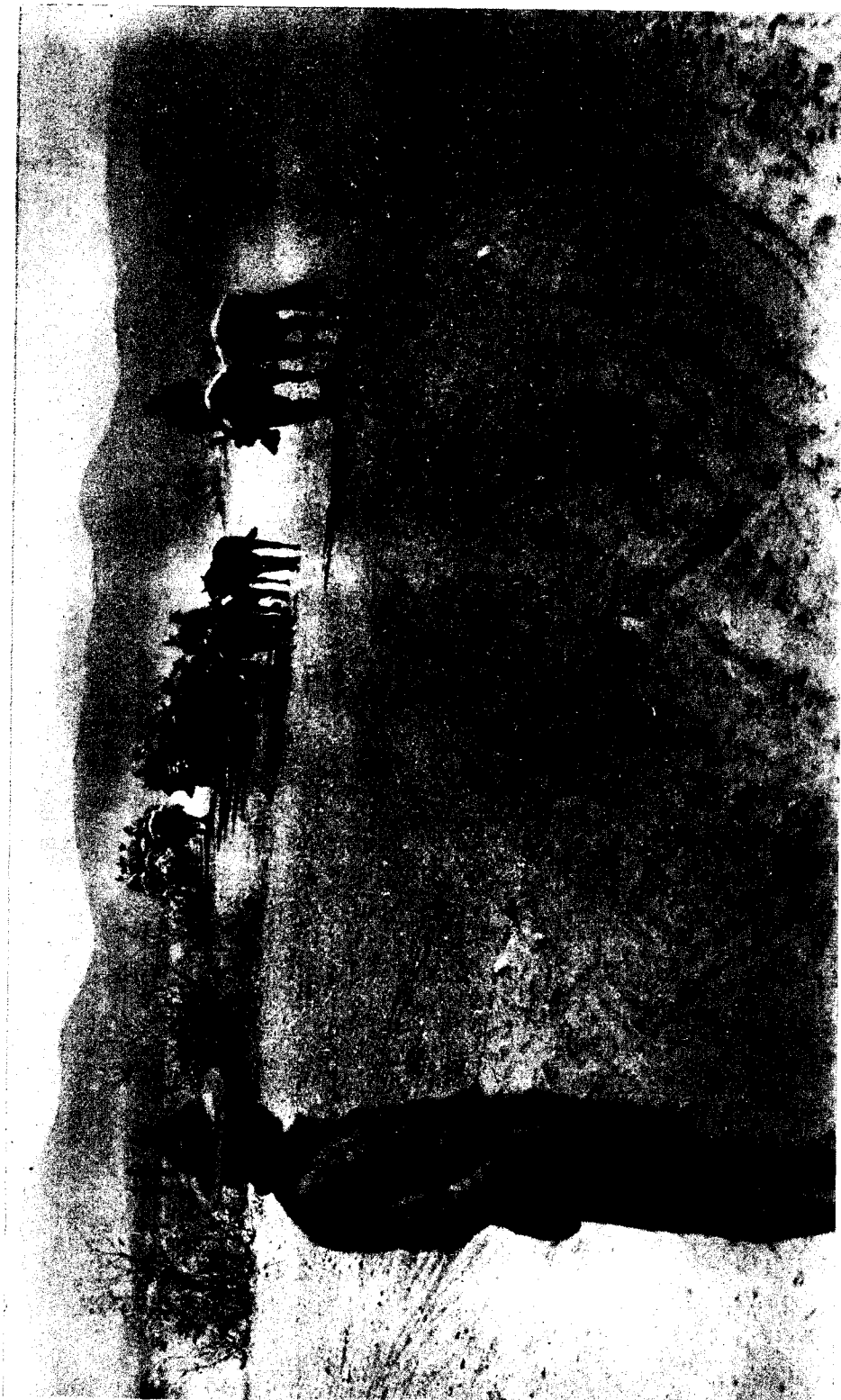


PHOTOGRAPH FROM PRESS ILLUSTRATING COMPANY

A NEW WAY OF BATHING THE BABY—SPRAYING WITH WARM WATER

A FINELY EQUIPPED CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL IN NEW YORK

The new home of the New York Nursery and Child's Hospital is the latest of several buildings in which the institution has been housed since its founding in 1854. Among the new features of the present hospital none has attracted more interest than the method of bathing the babies shown on the preceding page; by using the spray the danger of infection involved in the use of one bath-tub for many children is avoided



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THE AMERICAN EXPEDITION IN MEXICO—PULLING INTO TEMPORARY CAMP FOR THE NIGHT

From a photograph taken on April 8, 1916

the neighborhood which attracted immigrant labor—the people had to live near their work. Therefore this garment-making industry and the conditions of work in the industry twenty-five or thirty years ago had a great deal to do with the development of the East Side itself. The people who lived there were mainly those who worked in the needle-working industries.

Have the conditions under which these people worked improved in your lifetime?

Very decidedly. And this has been brought about chiefly through the organization of the unions, which have improved standards through agreements with employers.

How have they done this?

Until 1910 they did it through constant guerrilla warfare or strikes. These industries, as I have said, are seasonal. During the busy season the workers have the upper hand, when the employer needs labor. During the slack season the employer has the upper hand. The workers therefore would strike during the busy season and get their concessions then. Not infrequently, when the employer had the upper hand, he would reduce the standards gained by the workers during the busy season. And so there was a constant fluctuation between progress and retrogression from year to year. But, in spite of that, there has been an upward tendency.

What has been the nature of these improvements?

Since 1910 the guerrilla warfare has been growing less and less because a collective agreement was made between the union and the association of employers—not with an individual employer, but with a group of employers in an association. This is called collective bargaining. And in 1910 the union for the first time had a collective agreement with a responsible association of manufacturers. This agreement brought about a great many interesting changes. First, it actually decreased the number of working hours from fifty-hour, and in some cases over fifty-four, to fifty hours a week. It reduced the amount of overtime to not over one and a half hours a day above the normal during the busy season; in the dress and waist industry not more than one hour a day. The employer cannot require the employee to work more than one hour above the usual working period of the day. This is an important change, because it not only checked the employer from overworking his worker, but checked the worker from exploiting himself

in case he wanted to overwork. If any worker could work as long as he pleased, the working conditions established by the workers as an organized body would be undermined, and there would be brought about overwork for everybody and unscrupulous competition through the exploitation of greedy workers. It abolished the last remnant of home work in tenements. This agreement also brought about a very decided improvement in the sanitary conditions of the workers. For the first time in the history of American industry a board of sanitary control was organized. This board consisted of representatives of the union and the manufacturers in addition to representatives of the public. This board established standards, not alone of sanitation, but of fire safety, light and illumination, and cleanliness in general. The board has its own force of inspectors. It makes semi-annual inspections. Through the association of manufacturers it brought about compliance with its orders in case any manufacturer violated the standards. And the union sometimes enforced its standards in one or two cases through a strike against employers who were not members of the association. There was thus a tendency to improve the standard in the smaller shops, which needed most improvement in this respect. This represents, not welfare work from above, but democratic co-operation in industrial improvement. The representatives of the public on this board are Dr. William J. Schieffelin, Chairman, Miss Lillian D. Wald, and the Secretary.¹ We have served on this board since 1910, and it was working in two industries, the cloak and the waist industries. Since the abrogation of the agreement in the cloak industry it is working only in the waist industry, where the protocol still exists. This board is introducing health certification in industry. It will make periodic physical examinations, and will give to the workers in the union certificates which will indicate whether they are in good physical condition or not. Then, too, the board carries on a great deal of education through the newspapers and lectures on health subjects among the workers and the manufacturers.

How has the improvement been made since 1910?

Since 1910 there has been a marked improvement in the following respects: First, the improvement of sanitary conditions of

¹The Secretary is Dr. Moskowitz himself.—THE EDITORS.

factories; second, the doing away with the making of garments in homes where there is contagious disease and in crowded quarters; third, the reduction in the hours of labor. I remember a time when people worked sixty, and sometimes seventy, hours a week. I myself as a boy worked ten and twelve hours a day. I worked from eight o'clock in the morning until six or seven at night. During the busy season fifteen or twenty years ago people worked from very early in the morning until late at night. There was no regulation of hours, and seventy hours a week was not too long for many people. This was working in an overcrowded shop, with stifling air, with operators working like mad over machines which they had to drive with their own feet. Now the foot power has been completely eliminated. The sewing-machines are run by electricity, and even ironing-machines for the pressing of garments have been introduced which are being run by electricity. Through the efforts of the union and the improvement in methods of manufacture these standards have been raised.

Has this board succeeded in setting a standard not only of health but of wages?

No. A wages board has not yet been established in these industries. This is the next big step which must be made, and which has been made in the dress and waist industry through the creation of a board for the control of protocol standards.

What do you mean by protocol standards?

By protocol standards I mean those standards in wages, hours, labor, sanitary conditions, and other standards affecting the working conditions, established by the agreement between the organized workers and the employers, which has been called the protocol.

There are thus two boards—one that has to do with conditions of health, and the other that has to do with the wages or other payments for labor, hours of labor, and certain conditions and methods of manufacture.

Has this second board established any wage standards at all?

This second board has just been organized. Its purpose is to gather information concerning conditions of labor, wages, and hours, which will form the basis of recommendation to the manufacturers and the organized workers regarding increases or improvements in these directions. The second object of this board is to enforce the standards of wages agreed upon between the association and the union throughout the entire industry.

There is, then, a standard of wages agreed upon?

There is a standard of wages called for in the agreement. But the employers who pay the union standards are not guaranteed that their competitors are doing the same, and frequently the good employer is penalized because an unscrupulous employer, who is not controlled or is imperfectly controlled by the union, has cheap labor.

In connection with these waist and cloak makers, we hear a great deal about the minimum wage. What is meant by that?

In these industries there are minimum weekly wages and minimum rates for piece-work—that is, wages below which the manufacturer is not allowed to go, although he is not limited in paying more if he wishes to; and, in fact, he does pay the skilled worker more than the minimum.

In the waist and cloak industries there has been a minimum wage, then, established by agreement?

Minimum prices for labor have been established by agreement.

Why should we need, then, a minimum wage law?

What we need in this industry, as well as in other industries, is information concerning the business conditions of the industry as well as the needs of the workers, so as to ascertain what a proper minimum is, under competitive conditions. For example: A manufacturer in New York who is forced to pay a minimum very much higher than his competitor in the Philadelphia or Chicago market will not be able to compete very long. The other day the workers in the shops surrounding The Outlook's office went out on strike. They got an increase in minimum wages. The Board of Arbitration, consisting of Judge Julian W. Mack, Chairman, Mr. Robert Bruère, and Mr. Hamilton Holt, gave increases to the industry. Young girls, for example, over fourteen, cannot receive less than six dollars a week and when they reach sixteen they cannot receive less than eight dollars and fifty cents in certain kinds of work. Operators, examiners, cutters, and other workers were increased. If the increases which were given are very much higher than those given in Philadelphia and Chicago, for instance, then the manufacturers in these markets will make a cheaper product, and the industry may in part be driven out of the city of New York simply because the wages have been so increased here and not

in other parts of the country that the cost of manufacture is cheaper, and reflects itself in cheaper prices. Such conditions as this cannot be completely controlled by a voluntary arrangement, and therefore we need the authority of the State and the sovereignty of the State, first, in finding out what these conditions are, and upon the basis of that knowledge a fair minimum wage enforcing it equally.

How would such a minimum wage law operate?

First, it must establish machinery for getting the facts relevant to wages, cost of living, cost of manufacture, prices of manufacture, cost of material, and any other necessary factors.

How would it do this?

This it could do through its own investigating departments of the Bureau of Labor, or through special boards established for the consideration of certain specified industries; or, better still, by co-operating with the machinery which has been established by these voluntary agreements.

Having ascertained all these facts, what would be the next thing for the law to do?

Having ascertained the facts, then both parties to the agreement can, through the machinery established by this agreement, confer concerning the increases in wages which the workers may demand. The representatives of the public—either the arbitrators or the representatives of the Government, or the board established for the consideration of the increase in wages—will be in a better position to judge whether the demands of the workers are fair upon the basis of this study. The next thing would be to present those facts to any board of arbitration established by the agreement between the workers and the employers, or any other board established in any other way to settle any specific dispute. For instance, the board of arbitration which sat for five years in the cloak and suit industry, and for three years in the dress and waist industry, has frequently been forced to make its decisions upon very little basis in fact, but only upon the basis of advocates' contention. This has been in large measure a method of compromise between the demands of both sides. And sometimes it has been a process of benevolent guesswork. Very often boards of arbitration take leaps in the dark. If they make a mistake in business judgment by granting increases which are unfair to em-

ployers in a competitive industry, they juggle with property in ignorance. On the other hand, they may be unfair to the workers by not awarding them enough. They cannot just by pure reasoning come to a sound conclusion concerning these important matters unless they have a sense of the reality of the industry. For example: The union asked, in the cloak and suit industry, a standard of seventy-five cents an hour for an operator of average skill. This demand was granted by the Council of Conciliation appointed by the Mayor recently. We are told by the manufacturers that many of them have been unable to pay this sum, and as a result their cloaks were made under conditions which the union could not control, or in outside markets where the price was lower. Whether seventy-five cents an hour is a fair price to pay in the light of competition can be discovered only by very careful study of the facts.

The law itself, then, would not set a minimum wage?

I do not believe in having an arbitrary minimum wage. I believe in having boards to study the conditions of the various industries, and upon this study of special conditions work out a minimum.

The desirable law, then, is not so much a minimum wage law as a law for establishing boards to decide what is a fair minimum wage?

Exactly.

But a moment ago you mentioned a strike of girls in the neighborhood of The Outlook's office which resulted in paying bigger wages than the concerns in Philadelphia or Chicago. How could a minimum wage board in New York deal with that?

It could not. Therefore the regulation must be wider than any State.

But does not what you say about wages apply to other things as well?

Absolutely. We are forced to take the position of National control in this as in many other industries.

How could such a control be brought about?

I think chiefly at first by getting the cities and the States to co-operate with the voluntary arrangements already made between employers and employees. National manufacturing associations believing in collective agreements should deal with National unions. This would help bring about equalization of competition between various cities, and then, through co-operation with the various State Departments of Labor of the different States, bring about a basis for the development of a

Federal control, through the Federal Bureau of Labor or the Federal Industrial Commission or the Federal Trade Commission.

Would it be necessary, then, still to have trade unions?

Absolutely. In fact, it would help the trade union movement enormously, because it would give to the trade union movement information upon which it could base its demands, and at the same time prevent it from making demands which are unreasonable. In fact, where there are wage boards—trade boards as they call them in England—they have aided trade unions.

But would this not take the control of his own business out of the hands of the employer?

I think that it would stabilize his business, for under present conditions he is a victim of anarchy and chance. Outside of minima, he should have absolute discretion and freedom to negotiate with his employees and to arrange a scale of prices for labor that will meet the needs of his business. At present, when he is forced by a labor union to make increases in wages he is penalized, as I have pointed out, because his competitors do not meet the same conditions. From the manufacturer's point of view, if he has equal conditions of competition, he will object less to increases in standards. And if he is an honest and humane man, he will welcome the chance to get rid of unscrupulous competition.

Has this anything to do with Socialism?

It has as much to do with Socialism as the Inter-State Commerce Commission has to do with Socialism. It is a form of social regulation. There are so many forms of Socialism that I cannot answer your question. If you mean, Does it resemble State Socialism of a rigid character, I say no; for all that it does is to provide minimum standards below which the industrial game cannot be played. Between the minima and the maxima the employers and the workers should have absolute freedom of action.

Why doesn't this idea apply to other trades?

It does. Machinery should be established by the State and the Nation by which the idea can be practically applied to as many industries as possible.

Should this be done purely for the protection of the helpless worker?

This is a much bigger thing than merely a minimum wage question. What I want is the application of fair intelligence to a very complicated question. It is not merely a question of wages. It may mean methods

of manufacture by which efficiency is brought about without exploiting the laborer; it may mean price adjustments; it may mean a method by which the seasonal character of the industry may be changed. It means the establishment of a machinery which will make a study of all the facts of industry for the purpose of arriving at conclusions which are fair both to the workers and to the employers in a competitive industry.

Then it is even more than protecting the helpless worker?

It is more than taking care of the helpless worker, for it means that the Government will concern itself as much in improving the productivity of industry as it now concerns itself in the improvement of the productivity of agriculture. This extension of governmental machinery means intelligent regulation for the purpose of stimulating initiative among the manufacturers and workers between a minimum and a maximum. It would be the means of saving the waste of energy through strikes and other friction due to inefficient methods of production. It would also provide for industry such knowledge as will enable the industry to establish a system of apprenticeship, by which those who get the minimum wage will be enabled to earn it. All the factors of industry are so interrelated that you cannot discuss a minimum wage without discussing methods of manufacture and methods of arriving at efficiency. Therefore such a Government board would deal with all the facts of industry.

How would you sum up the whole matter?

The primitive way of settling disputes between employers and employees is by some kind of struggle in which one side tries to enforce its will on the other. A great advance over that method is the method of arbitration, but in most cases arbitration is simply a compromise between the demands of the two sides. The arbitrators frequently know little or nothing of the real facts or conditions in these industries—of costs of production, of industrial processes, of the state of the competitive market, or business management. The next step will be the creation of machinery for ascertaining the facts in each industry. The machinery will be constantly at work collecting and recording the facts about the ever-changing conditions. Based on these facts, standards could be determined. The Government can then set a minimum, not only in wages, but also in other conditions, below which no one can venture

without incurring the penalty of the law. Under the operation of State and Federal wage boards, a commission should be automatically created whenever a dispute arises in any industry, and that commission, utilizing the facts already ascertained, will then be enabled, after hearing arguments from both

sides, to apply the standards to the particular case in controversy with real understanding of the needs of an industry from the viewpoint of both sides. When the decision is reached, it will have the authority of neutrally gathered facts and be backed by the sovereignty of civilized law.

THE PRE-NOMINATION CAMPAIGN

WHY THE REPUBLICAN PARTY NEEDS MR. ROOSEVELT

BY WILLIAM MACDONALD

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN BROWN UNIVERSITY

We interrupt for a single week the publication of the articles by our staff correspondent Mr. Frederick M. Davenport in order that we may give our readers at once the following article, which seems to us of pressing timeliness and of peculiar significance. This is so, not only because of the purport of the article itself, but because of the fact that Professor MacDonald is an Independent Republican who voted for Mr. Wilson as President in the campaign of 1912. Like many other men of Republican affiliations, but who are independent in political matters, he believes that the Republican party should this year nominate Mr. Roosevelt. Professor MacDonald, in reply to direct questions from the editors of *The Outlook*, says: "I voted for McKinley in 1896 and 1900, for Mr. Roosevelt in 1904, and for Mr. Taft in 1908. I did not follow Mr. Roosevelt in his Progressive campaign in 1912, however, but voted for Mr. Wilson. While I should still feel it to be my duty to support President Wilson to the extent of my ability in any situation that might arise in which my individual support could be construed as a citizen's obligation, I am no longer in sympathy with President Wilson's methods or policy and cannot vote for him again." Professor MacDonald has edited well-known works of American history and has himself written important books on special periods, such as "Jacksonian Democracy" and "From Jefferson to Lincoln."—THE EDITORS.

THE central figure in the Presidential campaign of 1916, not only until after the Chicago Convention, but very possibly from that time until after election day also, is Mr. Roosevelt. Once again, as so often before, he holds the center of the stage.

From a party standpoint, the interest of the approaching campaign turns wholly upon the attitude of the Republicans. The Democrats will renominate Mr. Wilson as a matter of course. There will also be a Socialist candidate, and perhaps a Progressive candidate. Laborites, Prohibitionists, and other small groups may likewise go through the form of making nominations. All of these nominations, however, with the exception of that of the Democrats, will be wholly negligible, for the reason that no one of the nominees has the remotest chance of being elected. The result of the election will be

Wilson or a Republican. The significance of the situation for the Republicans is the suspicion, daily becoming a conviction, that it will be Wilson if it is not Roosevelt.

Mr. Roosevelt was elected in 1904, as a Republican, with a plurality of 2,545,515 votes, the largest plurality ever received by a Presidential nominee. Four years later Mr. Taft, with the prestige of this overwhelming Republican success, and with a gain on his own account of 55,000 votes over the total cast for Mr. Roosevelt in 1904, saw the Republican plurality decline by 1,255,711. It is an open secret that in 1912 the Roosevelt delegates controlled the Convention, and would have nominated their candidate but for the manipulative tactics of the presiding officer, Senator Root; and Senator Root's action sent Mr. Taft down to defeat with a loss of 4,193,952 votes in comparison with his vote in 1908, and made possible a vote

of 4,119,507 for Mr. Roosevelt at the hands of the Progressives.

The practical question for the Republicans now is, What will become in 1916 of the more than four million votes that were given to Mr. Roosevelt in 1912? With a popular vote for Mr. Wilson in 1912 of 116,085 less than the popular vote for Mr. Bryan in 1908, and with a phenomenal gain of 481,080 in the Socialist vote, it is clear that the overwhelming majority of the Roosevelt support was drawn from the Republican ranks. Which party is to get those votes in 1916? If the humiliating defeat of 1912 is to be retrieved, far the larger part of the Roosevelt vote of that year—for most practical purposes the whole of that vote—must be recovered by the Republicans next November. Can the Republicans get the Roosevelt vote without Roosevelt?

It is not necessary, for the purposes of the present discussion, to dwell upon the shortcomings of the Wilson Administration. The absence of constructive legislation of a large sort, either in remedy of abuses or in furtherance of industrial and social welfare; the advocacy of legislation widely believed to be dangerous to commerce and to the National revenue; party dissension and political helplessness in Congress; appointments, actual or threatened, of men notoriously unfit; letting down the bars in the civil service; administrative slackness in the departments at Washington; brave words and reluctant acts in diplomacy; a stubborn opposition to military and naval preparedness while there was yet time, suddenly replaced by fervid insistence upon wholly insufficient measures for defense when peril is at hand; complacent indifference to the wanton killing of American citizens and the destruction of American property in Mexico, joined to a shifty policy which has invited the very complications with which the United States must now wrestle in that distracted country; and a cold aloofness which has turned the Presidential chair into an inaccessible tower of silence, are only the larger counts in an indictment which has brought great sections of the American people to a state of chagrin, distrust, and apprehension. Three years ago the Nation was asking for bread; to-day it is wondering whether it is yet to receive aught but a stone.

Be the indictment what it may, however, the fact remains that President Wilson will be renominated at St. Louis, and that he will be re-elected unless the Republicans are able

to oppose to him a candidate who is strong where Wilson is weak, courageous where Wilson is timid, clear and decided where Wilson is hesitant, frank and whole-hearted where Wilson is silent and cold, popular where Wilson is disliked, trusted where Wilson is suspected, feared where Wilson is ignored. It is no time for picking flaws, or nursing resentments, or resurrecting dead issues and controversies, or blinking facts. The American mind is distressed, but it is not in a mood to be trifled with. If the Republicans are to win, it can only be with a leader who is nominated because he is great, not with one who is great chiefly because he is nominated; a leader who can touch the imagination of the masses and stir personal enthusiasm and loyalty; a leader who in this gravely critical time needs no introduction anywhere, but who is known and respected throughout the country and throughout the world.

Any catalogue of Mr. Roosevelt's virtues which his supporters may make will, of course, be met at once by his enemies with a portentous list of his weaknesses and political sins; which is the same thing as saying that Mr. Roosevelt is a strong man and an aggressive leader. As the world goes, it is only men of mediocre caliber who never make enemies, or who follow scrupulously the beaten path, or who are neutral or colorless in times of crisis, or who carefully refrain from speaking out lest they should somehow injure their chances; and to men of that stamp the American voter does not, as a rule, take very kindly. The nomination of a Presidential candidate, however, is an intensely practical business, and one upon which the winning or losing of some millions of votes depends; and a man with Mr. Roosevelt's phenomenal record as a vote-getter—not to mention at the moment any other capabilities—is entitled to have his strong points as well as his weak ones carefully weighed.

Suppose we marshal at once the worst things that have been said of Mr. Roosevelt: his rough tongue, his desertion of the Republicans, his attack upon Mr. Taft, his warfare against trusts and "big business," his ruthless treatment of Colombia, his preacher tone, his self-advertising. It is a considerable list, surely, and one of which his opponents will try to make the most in a campaign. Is it sufficiently weighty, however, in all frankness, to offset his qualities and achievements in other respects and to make

him impossible as a Republican standard-bearer? Granted that he has not been free from the failings common alike to politicians and statesmen, does he nevertheless possess the indispensable qualification of availability?

As to availability, there are some pretty important things to be remembered. In the first place, Mr. Roosevelt is a protectionist. Just what part the tariff is to play in the approaching campaign cannot, of course, be accurately forecast at this time. Issues have a curious way of cropping out and of receding, no matter how the platform is constructed. If the Republicans have learned nothing from recent experience of tariff-making and are to "stand pat" on the old-line protective theories and methods, they will invite defeat, whoever is their candidate. On the other hand, the tariff has formed too large an element in Republican policy in the past to be lightly disposed of now; and while the partisan criticism of Democratic "tariff tinkering" need not be taken too seriously, there are many influential Republicans who have become convinced that tariff bargaining, under conditions of reciprocity, is likely to be in the future more important for the United States than mere tariff protection. Whatever the point of view, however, Mr. Roosevelt's record as President shows no disposition on his part to oppose Republican ideas on this important question. He is, and always has been, a protectionist, and he stood upon a protection platform as a Progressive candidate in 1912.

In the second place, Mr. Roosevelt stands for administrative honesty and efficiency. He began his public career in the field of National politics as a civil service reformer, and he has not deserted the cause or allowed his interest in it to wane. The efficiency of the executive departments at Washington and of the administrative service throughout the country was never more marked than in the years of his Presidency. He was the sworn enemy of incompetency as well as of graft. Abuses were remedied, complaints were listened to, desirable reforms were instituted. The Republican party has long boasted of its superior efficiency and of its success in giving to the country a businesslike administration. The nomination of Mr. Roosevelt at a moment when great tasks of social, industrial, and commercial readjustment are beginning to loom would be an assurance that the boast, if he were elected, would be made good.

Mr. Roosevelt stands for preparedness. This is not the place to discuss the particular kind or degree of preparedness that is needed, or the merits or defects of the various measures to which the attention of President Wilson and a Democratic Congress are at last directed. It is enough to recall the humiliating fact that after more than twenty months of warning from the European struggle, after more than four months of Congressional debate, and with Mexico as an illustration at the door, we are still unprepared. Never have we been in graver danger; for, literally, we know not what a day may bring forth. Mr. Roosevelt has been unceasing in his demand for preparedness and in his criticism of the mistaken policy which, up to date, has left us well-nigh helpless; and while his criticisms have been severe and his tone often harsh, it may well be doubted whether that which he has said or written is harsher or more severe than that which most Republicans, together with many of other parties, have thought. It was in his Presidency, too, that the American navy reached its highest point of efficiency, and the army, although occupied mainly with the routine of peace, its greatest effectiveness in personnel, spirit, and practical strength. The Republican party, by nature a party of preparedness for the same reasons that have made it a party of administrative efficiency, has only defeat awaiting it if it asks for less than Mr. Roosevelt has all along demanded, or if it nominates a candidate who is less clear and positive on that subject than he is known to be.

Once more, Mr. Roosevelt stands for a strong foreign policy and for the respect due to the American name. Perhaps it is idle to speculate as to what this or that man might or could have done had he been, during the past twenty months, in President Wilson's place; nevertheless, such speculation is very much of a habit in this country, and is often one of the straws which show the direction of the political breeze. There is a widely held opinion that had Mr. Roosevelt occupied the Presidential chair he would at least have insured for the United States a respect abroad which is now, to our chagrin, conspicuously lacking. He might not have been able to prevent the violation of Belgian neutrality or the wholesale infraction of international law, but he might at least have made a protest that would have saved American honor. On any reasonable theory of probability, there is

more likelihood that a leopard would change its spots than that Mr. Roosevelt, had he been President, would have confined his diplomatic activities chiefly to letter-writing, or submitted tamely to interference with American commerce by either belligerent, or allowed foreign agitators to hatch their plots on American soil, or played fast and loose with anarchy in Mexico until forcible intervention could no longer be put off, or frittered away more than a year and a half, in the face of a world war, without doing anything worth mentioning to strengthen the Nation's defenses. Have the Republicans any leader whose course, under such circumstances as now attend us, could so confidently be predicted, or to whom the party support in such a time of crisis could be given with greater enthusiasm and satisfaction?

On four cardinal points, then—protection, administrative efficiency, preparedness, and foreign policy—Mr. Roosevelt is in accord with the best traditions and the prevailing sentiment of the Republican party. On each of these points, moreover, he has already a clear record as President or as a citizen. Are there other more weighty reasons for rejecting him as a candidate?

Aside from opposition on purely personal grounds and the fact that he is *persona non grata* to thick-and-thin pacifists, the objection most often voiced is that Mr. Roosevelt is "unsafe." President Wilson, it is admitted, has shown himself of unstable mind, but, so far as Europe is concerned, the United States is nevertheless still at peace. Had Mr. Roosevelt been President—so runs the argument—we should long ago have been at war with one or more of the European belligerents, as well as with Mexico; and peace, even at the risk of dishonor, particularly when peace yields such immense financial returns, is better than war with its horrors. If we must go to war, let it be because we are attacked, and not because the President is eager to have a hand in whatever is going on.

It would be interesting to know upon what circumstances in Mr. Roosevelt's career as President this imputation of inherent belligerency in international concerns is based. Were Secretary Hay or Secretary Root, two of the ablest statesmen who have ever held Cabinet office, hard put to it to restrain the warlike propensities of their chief? With all his zeal for a better army and navy, was he ever militaristic? Was his foreign policy one of brag and bluster, or was he constantly

intermeddling in other nations' affairs? When he brought to a close the Russo-Japanese War, was it by threat of armed intervention, or by virtue of a moral force which he alone among the rulers of great nations had the courage and ability to use? Did he not give his support, and very real support too, to the youthful cause of international conciliation? And did he not receive the Nobel peace prize? Did the American people in the years of Mr. Roosevelt's Presidency live in fear lest the Nation should become involved in war? And does any American who takes counsel of his information and his judgment, rather than of prejudice and partisan clamor, really cherish such apprehension about him now? Rather is it not the fact that in the period from 1901 to 1909, one of the most momentous epochs that the United States has ever known, we not only lived at peace, with none to molest us or make us afraid, but that American lives and American interests abroad were respected and safeguarded and the dignity of the Nation upheld without war or parade of force; and that these things were so under a President who, because he was a soldier and knew what war meant, was indefinitely safer than one who relies upon "watchful waiting" or is "too proud to fight"?

The other chief objection seems to be that Mr. Roosevelt is not any longer a Republican but a Progressive, and that his nomination by the Republicans would be not so much a return on his part to his old allegiance as a surrender of the Republicans, body and soul, to the Progressives. It may be taken for granted that Mr. Roosevelt would not accept a Republican nomination save upon his own terms, and that he would insist upon dictating the platform and the conduct of the campaign; whence it is inferred that the outcome, if successful, would be a Progressive rather than a Republican victory. And since many old-line Republicans regard the Progressives as much nearer akin to Democrats or Socialists than to Republicans, the suggestion of Mr. Roosevelt as a candidate would have to be rejected by the party managers even though a considerable number of Republicans preferred him against the field.

The force of this argument depends mainly upon two considerations: first, whether the Progressives, whatever they once were, are now to be regarded as an independent party, marked off by fundamental differences alike from Republicans, Democrats, and Socialists;

and, second, whether the Republicans, after four years in which to think it over, are now ready to concede some of the more important principles for which the Progressives contended. On neither of these points, of course, is it possible to speak with certainty. How far the Progressives have kept up their party organization since 1912 in anything but name is difficult to say. There is much reason for thinking, however, that not only has the organization not been kept up, but that in some States it has largely lapsed, and that a considerable amount of reconstruction will be necessary to fit it for the arduous work of a Presidential campaign. An enthusiastic convention in this or that State does not necessarily mean an effective party organization in the country as a whole. A decline in the permanent effectiveness of party organization, however, is likely to mean a weakening hold of party principles, an admission that the policies for which the party now stands do not seem so vivid or imperative as they appeared to be when the party was formed. To the extent to which the Wilson Administration has stolen the Progressive thunder—and a good deal of it has certainly been appropriated, at least in terms—the strength of the Progressives has been weakened; and it is entirely possible that a considerable percentage of the Progressive vote of 1912 might be given to President Wilson in 1916 unless a candidate satisfactory to the Progressives is nominated by the Republicans.

The other question, that of Republican concession to Progressivism, goes nearer to the heart of the matter. As a matter of fact, the Progressive movement of 1912 was not, as a party movement, either Democratic or Socialistic. It was a revolt against the Republican party as then constituted and controlled. It was born of a widespread conviction that the Republican party, notwithstanding its distinguished record and the extraordinary loyalty of its adherents, was at heart a party of "interests" rather than of the people; that it championed property rather than men, employers rather than wage-earners, monopoly and big business rather than the consumer, private advantage rather than public welfare. The "fatal incapacity" of the Democrats and the "deliberate betrayal of its trust" by the Republicans were, to be sure, joined in the denunciation of the Progressive platform; but with no Democratic Administration since 1897, and with

but twelve years of Democratic rule since 1861, it is clear that the Republicans rather than the Democrats were the chief enemy in mind. Of the new conception of "government of the people, by the people, and for the people," for which the Progressives stood, Mr. Roosevelt, for nearly eight years a Republican President, had been the most conspicuous embodiment; but, although his party reluctantly commended his Administration in 1904 and 1908, and reaffirmed its commendation in 1912, it nevertheless cast him out as unworthy, and went down to disastrous defeat in consequence.

It would be idle to deny that the Republican party was guilty of much with which the Progressives charged it. But it is also useless to cry over spilled milk. Public opinion in this country has undergone great changes in the past eight years, and not the least significant of those changes is that which has taken place in the Republican party itself. And the surest proof that the party could give that it has taken to heart the lesson of its defeat, that it does not propose to ignore popular rights because it also protects vested interests, and that it is the supporter of big business only so long as big business does justice and obeys the law, would be to nominate for President in 1916 the man whom it repudiated in 1912, and go into the campaign to win. So far as the Progressive platform of 1912 is concerned, there are few of its planks at which a rejuvenated Republicanism need hesitate. The demand for social and industrial reform, the regulation of inter-State corporations, the development of foreign commerce, the reduction of the high cost of living, the conservation of natural resources, the development of waterways, the abolition of corrupt practices in elections, the improvement of agriculture and country life, National control of public health, the strengthening of the powers of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, the protection of American citizens abroad, the regulation of immigration, the enforcement and extension of civil service laws, and Government supervision of investments—what are these but drawings from Republican sketches, specific illustrations of that broad view of Constitutional power for which the Republican party has always stood, and in furtherance of which it has placed in the statute-books a greater volume of constructive legislation than all other American parties put together?

To-day, on the eve of another Presidential

campaign, the American people are asking for leadership. They are weary of delay and makeshift and strong words not backed by deeds. They want a leader who knows his own mind and who is not afraid to act as well as to speak. They do not want to go to war with any nation, but they do want a preparedness which will make it unlikely that any other nation will go to war with us. And they want many other things in addition to preparedness. The deep dissatisfaction of the people with the Wilson Administration is the Republican opportunity. Mr. Roosevelt is admittedly a great leader. Whether one likes him or not, he is unquestionably the most vivid and interesting personality in the modern world. He is not an untried

man; he has "done the job." He needs no introduction either to the United States or to any other country; his name is familiar everywhere. His views on National issues are not a secret yet to be divulged; everybody knows where he stands. He is not the representative of any class or section or interest. He would be the most available Republican candidate, even if the coming election were to be nothing more than a skillful playing of the political game; and every thinking American knows in his heart that the coming election is very much more than a skillful playing of the game. The question for the Republican party is not whether it can afford to accept Mr. Roosevelt, but whether it can afford to get on without him.

MEXICO—FROM THE INSIDE LOOKING OUT

BY GREGORY MASON

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT OF THE OUTLOOK

IT is a safe rule that the intensity of a man's convictions on Mexico varies inversely as the square of the distance between his home and the border.

But what about the American whose home is over the border? Alas! his opinion counts for little in the determination of the Nation's Mexican policy, for he cannot vote. But I have found that, whereas the Mexican views of Americans on the outside looking in are as various as the hues in a Guadalajara blanket, the views of the men on the inside looking out are fairly monochromatic, and that one color is usually dark, and often black.

I was surprised by the unanimity which I found on my recent trip to Mexico in the feelings of the Americans who are on the inside looking out. Their feelings in sum and substance were virtually this:

"By no means do we think it necessary or even altogether desirable that the United States should annex Mexico. But it is altogether desirable and necessary that order should be restored in Mexico. We patiently stood the inconveniences of the Madero revolution, for that was the expression in good faith of the popular demand for a more democratic government in Mexico. Our attitude was nearly as serene during the first stages of the Carranza revolution, for,

although some Americans here thought that President Wilson ought to have recognized Huerta, it soon became apparent that Huerta could not control the country, and what all of us want above everything else is a government strong enough to guarantee the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of business. But Carranza has failed to provide such a government, Villa has failed, Zapata has failed, all the Mexicans that have tried it since Diaz have failed, and even Diaz was not so successful a policeman as many of you in the United States believe.

"It has been apparent to us for many months now that this country can be made a fit living-place for civilized people only by the co-operation of some outside power with the best elements among the natives. The United States is the natural power to do this. We hoped that this was going to be done when our forces got a foothold at Vera Cruz. But they soon scuttled out, and we endured the more than ever contemptuous taunts of the class of Mexicans whose favorite sport is gringo-baiting.

"Now our soldiers have entered Mexico again, this time, by the President's avowal, for the sole purpose of getting Villa. The American uniform looks as good to us as a sail to men marooned on a desert island.

"But the 'dispersing' of Villa—whatever that ambiguous phrase may mean—will not be enough. Even if Villa were caught, the situation would be very precarious for Americans who remained here after the army had left. If the army leaves without breaking up all of the lawless bands that make life so uncertain and painfully dramatic here, every one of us will give up the outposts of civilization we have struggled so long to hold, and go back to the United States."

That is the warning which comes from our colonists in Mexico, which ought to be heard now when the newspapers are filled with reports that the expedition will be recalled from Mexico without getting Villa.

To withdraw the expedition now means to withdraw every American from Mexico.

Try to put yourself in the position of the man on the inside looking out. It is strange what a difference the point of view makes. From the comparative safety of the lobby of an El Paso hotel it is easy to join the chorus of glory-shouters who assure each other that "one American can lick ten greasers." But when you are riding your horse alone past a *cuartel*, with its lounging guard of boy soldiers, you salute them with the utmost respect, even though many of them are under sixteen, most of them stunted and weak, and all of them dirty, disheveled, and unmartial in appearance.

The first request of Bishop A. B. Call, of the Mormon colony of Colonia Dublan, to the American soldiers that came to camp near his town was:

"Don't laugh at the Carranza soldiers, fellows. Some of them, who are only bare-foot boys little higher than their rifles, may seem ridiculous to you well-trained, well-equipped veterans of Philippine campaigns; but don't laugh at them. For, if you do, they'll take it out on us when you have passed south."

The Mormons of Colonia Dublan have fared rather better than the average Americans in Mexico. One reason is that this colony, like the other Mormon villages established in Chihuahua about twenty years ago, has been sufficient unto itself and has steadfastly avoided meddling in Mexican politics. Thus what the Mormons have suffered most other Americans in Mexico have suffered to a greater degree.

This town was named by the Mormons for a Mexican patriot. That was the first stroke of diplomacy scored by these shrewd

Americans. Dublan should be accented on the second syllable, but the indomitable Irishmen in our army have dubbed the town "Colony of Dublin," as they have nicknamed the near-by Mexican village of Casas Grandes "Casey's Grandest."

Two of its features force Dublan on the retina of the passer-by. In the first place, it is remarkably well preserved. Only every tenth house has been war-ruined, instead of every other house, as in most of the surrounding towns. But the first thing you notice about the village is the architecture. After passing, one after another, typical towns of ramshackle, crumbling adobe structure, suddenly on a high plain you see the pointed towers, baroque gables, and multiform windows of multicolored glass characteristic of the atrocious gingerbread style of architecture that visited many parts of the United States like a plague in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The walls of most of the buildings are of those small, red, clean-cut bricks which gave Boston ivy its first foothold; but the gables, roofs, and superstructure in general are shingled over the gingerbread patterns once so popular in Boston's suburbs.

An orderly, well-laid-out town it is, intimating the orderly, well-laid-out minds of its solid, plodding citizens. Man has bifurcated the Rio Casas Grandes above the town, and one arm of the river is flung caressingly about the upper limits of the village, protecting it from the scorching sun and smarting sand of the hungry desert. From this arm long fingers poke through the town, giving each of the several far-stretching longitudinal streets of Dublan two irrigation ditches as gutters, whereby double rows of stately cottonwoods have been nourished into a blossoming and aromatic maturity.

In this garden town the Mormons lived in comparative peace until five years ago, raising with untroubled minds their abundant crops of grain, live stock, and children. For, although they will assure the visitor to the contrary, polygamy is still practiced enthusiastically. In the single large building of white adobe among the village of red bricks, where flocks of tow-headed children learned their A B C's on week-days, Bishop A. B. Call—"Alphabet Call" he is called—expounded the religion of his people's choice to them on warm, clear-skied Sundays.

Up to five years ago at the fairs in El Paso and other American cities near the border there were no apples, peaches, and pears so

luscious and full blown as the fruit of the Chihuahua Mormons, no hogs so fat and clean-skinned, no cattle so well-beefed, no horses so soft-coated, hard-muscled, and high-strung.

Then came the social earthquake managed by Madero. The Mormons stuck to their Mexican homes longer than some Americans, but the shocks of the "Red Flagger" upheaval shook them harder than the Madero disturbance, and on July 28, 1912, one thousand Mormons, mostly women and children and old men, went to El Paso over the jolting rails of the Mexican Northwestern and moved into the tent colony established on McGoffin Avenue with the help of a Government appropriation. Eighty-five lean, hard-handed men remained herding the live stock of the colony with Winchesters for crooks.

But a week or two later the attentions of the thieving followers of that great railway dynamiter, Pascual Orozco, had become so unpleasantly insistent that the rear guard of blue-eyed husbands followed their wives and children, carrying the last of their family heirlooms through the Sierra Madres to Hachita, New Mexico, in long-bodied farm-wagons. The considerate Orozcistas did less burning than some of the earnest reformers that have followed them, but they were fairly efficient looters and left not a centavo's worth of ribbon in the big Mormon store and storehouse which had been filled with goods worth \$2,000,000.

The subsequent history of the colony is suggestive of the wanderings of the Israelites. Bishop Call was a veritable Moses, but his rod was a repeating rifle and his decrees were enforced with a Colt six-shooter. Yet he and his people have never actually come to blows with Mexicans. With remarkable faith in their religion these Mormons have reserved their firearms solely for the protection of their persons, watching the plundering of their houses and farms in dumb resignation.

A month after the first exodus the men began to come back, and soon their families followed them from the tents of Uncle Sam. But on April 24, 1914, with their National Uncle at war with Victoriano Huerta, there was another exodus. This time few of the Mormons came back to their bone-bare village till the fall of 1915. But a few daring men and boys with a handful of brave women had remained through it all, and, with the aid of some of the poorer steeds from their own once numerous herds of horses which the

kind-hearted bandits had left them, they raised a hard-won crop. This harvest they counted on for the nourishment of themselves and their returning neighbors through the winter. But last September Francisco Villa came to fair, well-watered Dublan on his way to Sonora for what proved to be his last great effort to break Carranza's power and win the greatest prize of Mexican politics, recognition of the United States. With the puissant Pancho was his last army, 12,000 men and 3,000 women, all half starved and ripe for looting.

However, the Mormons still remember gratefully that that time there was much less stealing than they expected. Pancho Villa directed his people to pay for what they took, and, even though the payment was made in the worthless Villista paper currency, the Mormons gave him credit for good intentions.

Proving the fertility of its soil and the industry and economy of its men and women, Colonia Dublan supported those 15,000 hungry Villistas for twenty-five days.

When the army marched out into the mountains toward Sonora, three Mormon boys went as guides, leading the horde in which many a cavalier was astride a horse stolen from the Americans.

The battle of Agua Prieta on the American border settled Villa. It also left in his heart an undying hate for the gringos with whom he had recently been so friendly, whose chiefs had given him many unofficial assurances that he was their favorite and would ultimately be recognized by the United States. Villa left the battlefield at Agua Prieta feeling that he had been "double-crossed." And we must admit that there was foundation for his bitterness. Villa lost the battle of Agua Prieta because Carranza troops had been permitted to pass through United States territory to take the Villistas on the flank. Villa left that battlefield cursing the gringos up and down the whole sulphurous gamut of Mexican profanity and pledging the rest of his life to vengeance on the "traitorous Americans."

Our nationals in Mexico, including the Mormons at Colonia Dublan, soon felt the wrath of the once powerful general who had been restored to banditry. Villa himself cut back through the Sierra Madres south of Dublan, but a detachment of his ragged, hungry, enraged, and disappointed men descended on the little town with the eagerness of ravenous locusts, and they cleaned Dublan

of everything edible as effectually as any swarming insect pests. Everything of value that had escaped the previous four years of plundering was taken now. Approaching the Mormons in an assumed air of friendliness, they asked to see all the firearms in the place. When the weapons were produced, they were promptly seized. Thus when later the Villistas, growing drunk, demanded that the Mormon women be brought to them, the men of the colony had only axes and pitchforks to defend their wives and daughters. But strategy proved stronger than force, and the women were smuggled into a shed where, hiding under straw, they escaped detection while the Villistas remained. How the men of the colony escaped assassination is inexplicable. The Villistas taunted, cursed, and threatened them as the sons of the nation that had betrayed their chief, but stopped just short of killing. Bishop Call attributes the escape to the "consistent neutrality of our colonists and the benevolence of God."

I believe it was more due to their God than to their neutrality that the Mormons survived. Neutrality is never a thing to boast of with grace, and it may be suspected that sometimes the Mormons pursued their neutrality to the point of excessive submission. They are very reluctant to talk of their sufferings at the hands of the Mexicans, lest the vengeful arm of Villa should reach them even now, with our troops in Mexico. But one needs only eyes to get the tragic story of the rape of Colonia Dublan.

Where once were window-panes now are boards sealing the windows of houses, and even the outer windows of the combination church and school-house, which is now illuminated only by candles and by windows on an interior court. Most of the houses are barred and locked, but those wherein the brave men and women of the Mormon rear guard still linger to watch the property of the community are stripped of all ornaments and of all furniture but the most primitive pieces. Picture frames still hang on walls, but now frame only emptiness. In barn, corral, and pasture hobble the lame and halt cattle and horses which even Mexicans scorn to steal, the worthless remnant of former riches.

In spite of what they have suffered through five years of chaos, I met no Mormon who wanted Mexico annexed to the United States. But I met not one whose first wish was not for the establishment of a government that will make it safe for their wives, children, and old

men to come back, and safe for them to begin the re-creation of such a paradise on earth as would again be a shining lure for every unrestrained thief and bandit. And I met not one who did not say that the withdrawal of our troops without the capture of Villa and the subsequent establishment of order would be the signal for that American to leave the village where most of his life had been spent, this time never to return unless a later Administration shouldered the burden which it seems the present Administration may shirk.

In this the Mormons were no different from the other Americans in Mexico. But the testimony of the Mormons is particularly valuable because certainly they cannot be called capitalists with axes to sharpen on the intervention grindstone. I had an experience that illustrated how all Americans in Mexico have suffered during the past five years. At Columbus, before entering Mexico, I bought a diminutive sorrel cow pony from a rancher, getting a bill of sale for him in due form. The day before I left Mexico I was about to sell the tough little animal to another correspondent, when a leather-faced, moist-eyed old American strolled up. Glancing at the pony, he started, and then drawled, "Thet's one o' my boy's hosses." I produced the bill of sale, and the old man was forced to admit that the horse bore the Circle and reversed B brand mentioned in the bill. But below the reversed B he pointed out a faint P, and several scouts in the crowd that had now gathered around us testified that a circle and a P was the brand of Arthur McKinney, son of this old man, William Q. McKinney. The reversed B had evidently been burnt into the broncho's hide later than the circle and the P. Arthur McKinney had been a cow-puncher and horse-owner. Three years ago his stock was driven off the range by bandits and he was warned never to return. He did return, and was shot by Villa a few months ago. "Old man McKinney" was now in Mexico trying to recover what he could of his son's property. When the brand was identified, I was glad to turn over the pony to the brave old man. But the incident is a reminder of what the Americans in Mexico have suffered, and is a warning to those who would buy horses or cattle on the border. *Caveat emptor!*

To every American civilian, I met in Mexico I put this question:

"What will you do if our soldiers leave Mexico with Villa still at large?"

In substance all answered about like this : " If our army leaves without finishing its job, we will go too. Our army's job, as we see it, is not only to kill or capture Villa, but to kill or capture all the bandits that make life unsafe and peace impossible in Mexico. Killing Villa, or even killing all Villistas, will not settle it. There are other lawless elements in Mexico just as bad as the Villistas, although perhaps not so well led.

" Some of us have remained in Mexico in the past, ignoring President Wilson's advice to leave. But we know this country, and we know the spirit of its people. Many of them are honest and peace-loving. But there are many others of a different stripe, and they will make life here impossible for Americans if our soldiers leave without finishing their real job, as we see it, which is the definite dispersal of all lawless factions, and the definite establishment of law and order through the unlimited support of those elements in the Mexican population which really want peace."

The withdrawal of all Americans from Mexico in a sort of grand National scuttle might not daunt an Administration that has already advised them all to get out rather than take the responsibility of protecting them. But if the American public realizes what such an event would mean, perhaps the public, by the exertion of that mysterious force which sheer numbers have, would force the Government to protect its citizens.

Such a wholesale retrogression would mean, in the first place, practically the permanent loss of the property held by Americans now in Mexico.

In the second place, it would mean the loss of the lives and property of many Mexicans who have been friendly to our soldiers or to other foreigners. Many Mexicans of this class had left their country before the Columbus raids, willing to abandon their property if they could secure their lives. Not only Mexican capitalists and Mexican families whose sons have been murdered and whose daughters have been outraged are in this class. In El Paso I talked with the members of the orchestra which formerly made nights gay at Sternau's restaurant, the most luxurious eating-place in Torreon. They said that they had left that city because "Torreon is not safe for honest men."

Thirdly, and in the last place, the withdrawal of our soldiers from Mexico now would mean, not only the abandonment of our own citizens, but the abandonment of all foreigners, whom we are bound by the Monroe Doctrine to protect. It would mean the stultification of the Monroe Doctrine. It would cost us the slender shred of prestige which is all that our erratic foreign policy has left to us abroad.

That is what our immediate withdrawal from Mexico would mean. Before we give the order it is wisdom to inquire the cost.

THE NATIONS AT WAR

CANADIAN WOMEN AND THE WAR

BY RICHARD SPILLANE

War kills off the best of a nation's manhood, therefore extra care must be exercised to save the child—not for its own sake or for its parents' sake, but for the sake of the nation. It has got to be saved—saved from infant mortality, then from ill health, and finally from drifting into being waste human material. Each individual must be made healthy and strong, endowed with character for becoming a valuable citizen for the state. Women have here as big a national work open to them behind the scenes as the men have who are

playing their part so gallantly on the stage in Flanders and elsewhere.—BADEN-POWELL.

IN all that has developed out of this war or any other war, perhaps nothing is more remarkable than what has been done and is being done by the women of Canada. They have taken Baden-Powell's idea and broadened it and added to it and improved upon it until to-day they are doing a wonder work. Canada has sent 60,000 of her sons into the battle-line in Europe; 60,000 more

are in training in England; 130,000 are being fashioned into soldiers in Canada, and the Dominion is raising 250,000 more. Think of it, an army of 500,000 out of a population of little more than seven millions!

The women of Canada have taken upon themselves the duty of caring for every Canadian who offers his life in defense of the Empire. They care for him in the trench, in the hospital, in the prison camp. They have studied his every need, and provided for it. There is a labor of love and tribute to the brave. Greater, far greater, is what they are doing for the women and children who are left at home. They have taken upon themselves the care, the protection, and the support of the wives, the widows, the children, and the dependents of the men who have been killed or maimed. They have done more. They have built up the greatest organization Canada has ever known. They are wiping out waste. They are making character. They are spending millions to save tens of millions. Ten thousand women or more who never suspected they had ability beyond the narrow lines of their homes have shown a business capacity, an organizing strength, and a perception far beyond anything men have demonstrated. Canada is giving an example to the whole of the British Empire—to the whole world, in fact.

To tell the story in detail would take a volume. It can be sketched only here.

There are a multitude of women's organizations in Canada. Among them are the Daughters of the Empire, the National Council of Women, the Canadian Red Cross, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Young Women's Christian Association, Queen Mary's Needlework Guild, the Soldiers' Wives League, St. John Ambulance Association, and numerous smaller bodies. These practically have co-operated and are working under one general plan. The whole Dominion is districted. There is a ward head in every city. There is an organization in every town and every village. They have grasped the great problems of the war as no other people have. They are not providing for the present alone, but for the period of readjustment when the war-worn men return. They have studied the psychic effect of war upon the soldier who returns able-bodied, just as they have studied the effect upon the soldier who is brought back wounded or with shattered nerves. They have studied the effect upon the mothers,

the wives, the widows, and the children. They have brought order and system out of disorder. They have raised an unbelievable amount of money, and they have made provision to have the flow of money continue as long as the war lasts and longer. No problem is too difficult for them to solve, no work too hard for them to perform. What they are doing is voluntary.

Through what is known as the Patriotic Fund they care for the wives and the children of soldiers. There are some small towns in western Canada that have sent practically all their available young men into the army. This has left these towns with very little employment. It has been the women's problem to care for the families in these places. In the larger cities there has not been the same proportion of enrollment, but there the phases of the question have been more complex. In what they have done and what they are doing the women have been careful to show that their work is not one of charity, but an expression of sympathy and protection and love of Canada for the family of its soldiers. Their work is one of service, of intimate social contact. They see that no one wants for food and clothing or medical attention or friendship by reason of the breadwinner's having gone to the defense of the Empire. They try to give to the families a new outlook upon life, and their endeavor is to build up a strong, self-reliant group of each and every family. Their work has proved wonderful in unifying Canada. They have brought all of the people, French Canadians and English Canadians, closely together. They have broken down class distinction. Race and creed mean nothing. The Empire, liberty, justice, free institutions, and free people mean everything. They are teaching the great lesson that if the Empire is worth dying for it is well worth living for, and that out of this great struggle there comes the opportunity for development into a higher citizenship of better men and better women.

Let us look at the ramifications of their work. First let us consider what they do for the fighting men. They have studied the needs of the man in the trench. They have records of every man who has entered the service of the King. They have records of every relative of that man. They keep a record of that man from the day he enters the service, through every move in his life as a soldier. They send to him his home

papers, magazines, tobacco, games, puzzles, clothing, candies, anything or everything to lighten the burden of his days and to make him know that those at home across the sea are watching over him with loving devotion. In conjunction with the Red Cross they watch over and care for every wounded man. They have hospitals in France and in England. They have scores of ambulances. They have scores of lorries. They have studied the need of the wounded man as the subject never was studied before. They have found that one of the first things the man who is wounded desires after his wounds are dressed is to write, so they have fixed up a portmanteau which contains a writing-pad, pencil, a few delicacies. They have provided also a kit to be put at the head of his cot which he can reach with ease, and into which he can place any little personal belongings that he treasures. They provide envelopes, postcards, everything the mind can suggest for him. Throughout Canada many thousands of women are working day after day for the comfort of the well and the wounded. They make sheets, bedding, towels, socks, surgical shirts, nightshirts. They cut up and put up into packages, gauze, cotton, lint, ligatures, bandages, splints, chloroform, ether, hot-water bottles. They have established great storehouses at Boulogne, in London, and in Canada to draw on in case of emergency, such as comes with the urgent call after a great engagement where the number of wounded to be treated is tremendous. They have advance storehouses near the fighting lines. To the wounded men they send magazines with all the advertising sheets torn out, so that they can get light reading, stories, etc. They see that each man gets a scrap-book in which the news from his home town is pasted. They send harmonicas, piccolos, and games to divert the mind in hours that otherwise would be dreary. Every wounded man has a supply of chocolate. He gets a tooth-brush, a safety razor, shaving soap, comb and brush, and toilet accessories that he never had in the trench. The women have tried to visualize the condition of the man from the day he leaves Canada until he returns, and out of their great love and their wonderful fund of common sense they provide for him.

It is so, too, with the man who is taken prisoner. Through the Red Cross they have made provision to feed every soldier of Canada who is interned in Germany and in Austria. They have arranged whereby bread

is baked at Berne, in Switzerland, and forwarded regularly to the prison camps in Germany. To the honor of the Germans be it said that the Canadians have ample proof that what they send goes to the man for whom it is intended. They even send candy. This is inclosed in special, hermetically sealed tins, and the sweets arrive fresh almost as the day they were made. They have arranged so that parcels can be sent to individual prisoners. They not only send food, but clothing, shoes, etc. They have arranged a system whereby any one in Canada can "adopt" and provide for a prisoner in Germany. They have been told over and over again in the letters they have received that if it were not for the gifts they send the men might starve or freeze. Hundreds of the prisoners have been adopted by kind-hearted Canadians, and their contributions go forward in regular order. The women have worked out all the details of organization themselves. They don't know how they did it, but it is the most business-like system that ever has been evolved from the necessities of war.

The vast majority of women in Canada are sewing or working for the fighting men and the families of the soldiers. Each province has its Red Cross body. Every town has its organization for Red Cross work. How widespread this is may be imagined when it is said that in Nova Scotia alone there are two hundred and seventy towns in which practically all the women are doing work for the Empire. They are not doing this in any haphazard way. Each branch gets instructions in every form of its work, and information about the progress of every phase of the work. Bulletins come from headquarters regularly, advising all concerned of the operations of the gigantic undertaking the women are engaged in. The women have systematized their work in every department. They look after the boxing, shipping, the records, the sorting, the packing, the classifying, the stenciling. They have patterns and samples of every conceivable article that would be useful. They do the work for which they are best fitted. Halifax may serve as an example. In that city there are two manufacturing centers where the women gather to sew. In the Technical College from forty to one hundred women gather each day. There are probably five or six hundred women in that city who sew. Some give one day, some give two or more, and all give one evening a

week. Yarn is furnished in immense quantities. It has been proved that the women work better when they work in groups. But, in addition to the work done at the Technical College and at the Women's Council House, many women work in their homes. Every facility is given to the people for working. The Ladies' Aid Society has its group of workers. So have the churches. Any organization that so desires can get material with which to work. In the main, the material is cut by machinery without cost. The local manufacturer does this. These women make suits for convalescents. They make surgical suits, pajama suits, compresses. They tailor and they press and they labor as they never did before. The woman of wealth works side by side with the woman who had been a toiler. The women have studied, too, to eliminate waste. They have studied how to pack stuff in boxes so that every inch of space will be utilized. They have studied everything.

Montreal affords the best example, perhaps, of how the families are cared for. There are six thousand families in Montreal that are sustained out of the Patriotic Fund which the women gather. The women see that the children of the soldiers do not neglect their schooling. They are the big sisters of the wives, of the widows, of the children, of the soldiers of the Empire. In the kindest and most friendly of ways they endeavor to make the families approach or start on the way to being self-sustaining.

Necessarily the work is slow in development. Regularly each month these six thousand families get a monetary allowance from the fund. The wife or the mother or whoever has had the care of the dependent family calls at headquarters, is identified, gets her check, goes to the bank, and receives her money.

To finance their work the women of Canada have been as thorough as in every other thing. In the first burst of patriotic fervor there was a lot of indiscriminate giving. There were concerts, fairs, general entertainments. That was fine as far as it went, but it wasn't anything to rely on through a long period, so these women have devised a system whereby they have a steady income. They have gone, for example, into manufacturing towns and they have stated their case to employers and to workers. In one small city where the pay-roll amounts to \$500,000 a month they held a public meeting, and every

workman in that town signed a pledge whereby one per cent of his wages each month goes to the Patriotic Fund. That is \$5,000. Consider what that means when this is multiplied throughout the Dominion of Canada. This is what they have done. They have the money coming regularly for their work. In emergencies they can call on the Dominion at large for more, but out of what they have collected thus far they not only have looked after all Canadians, but they have furnished assistance to the Servians, to the Montenegrins, to the French, and even the British Government has drawn on their supplies.

Every family of every soldier is kept advised regarding the soldier. If he is wounded, his family know how and where and when he was wounded. If he is recovering, they are advised of the state of his improvement. The women have worked throughout the official channels of the British Government a system whereby they are kept in absolute touch with all their boys. They have a headquarters in Tooley Street in London—the Tooley Street about which we have heard so much in connection with the little tailors. They have a hospital headquarters at Cliveden on the estate of William Waldorf Astor. They have a headquarters in Paris for the French to draw from. But they are not satisfied. They want to do more. They cut army red tape just as they have wiped out the barriers between the rich and the poor. They have arranged wherever possible to mark the grave of any soldier of Canada who dies in Europe. They care for the sick of the soldier's family and they bury the dead of the soldier's family.

It is not the rich woman of Canada who does all this, or the woman of the middle class. The work is done just as faithfully in the humblest home, on the farm and in the tenement. There is a widow, Mrs. Archibald, of Wolfville, in Nova Scotia, who has very little of this world's goods, and yet she sent six hundred jars of preserves to the soldiers in France. She did not have the money to buy the fruit. She went into the orchards and gathered that which was left on the trees after the picking. Some one gave the sugar to her. She trudged around the countryside to gather jars. She made a workshop of her cellar. She put up these six hundred jars of preserves, boxed them all herself, and then she sent them on, blessed with her labor of love. That woman has a boy in khaki fighting in Flanders.

Mention has been made of the work that

is done in the city of Halifax. Some idea of its magnitude may be obtained from the statement that thirty-six thousand pairs of hand-made socks went from Nova Scotia alone, and that in the Technical College at Halifax more than forty miles of material was made up in three months of work by the women laboring there. The children, too, help. The children of Canada have their Red Cross Societies. They send all sorts of things to the soldiers. They maintain a motor ambulance of their own in France. In Montreal and some of the other Canadian cities every child contributes one cent a week at least to the Patriotic Fund. There is a bank in every school-room in Montreal into which the child makes his deposit. Some of the children give much more than one cent. Before long these banks will be in every school-house throughout the Dominion.

The women have done more to awaken Canada to the elimination of waste than the Dominion ever knew before. In every city women of every grade have formed an organization for the collection of material that previously was cast away as useless. They gather the waste paper and bale it and sell it. In one city this brings to them more than \$150 a week. They collect old carpets, cast-off kid gloves, shoes, hats—anything or everything. They have established junk-shops. They collect bits of iron, steel, copper, all sorts of metal, and sell it. They make over the carpets, wherever possible, into carpet slippers. They take the old kid gloves, strip them, and make them up for the inner lining for coats and trousers and such things for men to wear, and it is reported that the soldiers have known no warmer garments than those kid-lined ones which they have received from Canada. The women have old shoes repaired and soled and put to use. They are teaching the people to save in every way possible.

The women of Canada do not propose to have human waste material either. They are establishing schools in which the maimed and the crippled soldiers are being taught useful employments. From two to three hundred men come back each week invalided and broken. The man who has lost an arm may not be able to do the work at which he formerly was employed. They are preparing to teach him to do something else that will make him self-sustaining, and by which he can maintain his self-respect and not become

a burden upon the people. The man who has lost a leg may be unfitted for the task in which he had been trained. He is taught some other line of work by which he can sustain himself. And the blind—and many of the men who come back are blind—are being taught. Instructors from blind asylums are being drawn in to aid in this branch.

These women, with the wonderful vision that they have, possibly have seen what Canada might face if the destruction to human life or the crippling of many thousands of men should bring the burden of a huge pension system upon the Dominion. They are going to avoid that, if possible. They are going to try and have Canada demonstrate to the world that its men and its women, working together, fighting together for the Empire, can care for itself with the minimum of a pension system.

The women of Canada surely have broad sympathies. One illustration will serve for this demonstration. There are some German prisoners in the Dominion. In one of the cities there are two hundred of them. For a time their lives were dull and their days were dreary. The women pitied them. They thought of their own men in the prison camps of Europe. They did what they could to bring a little light into the dark days. Some of these men were musicians. They asked for permission to have the instruments they played. In a short time there was a band formed in their prison camp, and after a while the German prisoners began to give concerts. The concerts were given in the public square, and they grew and grew in popularity. A Sunday night concert became a regular thing, but it was stopped at the request of the church authorities. The concert was so good and so popular that the churches were deserted. Now the band concerts are confined to week-days.

It would seem that the women of Canada are doing all that could be expected of them, but they are not content. They have been asked to aid in recruiting, and they are volunteering for that work. They are the great patriots of this war. It would be a joy to give the names of all those who are doing valiant service for the Empire, but to do so would require a larger number than *The Outlook* ever has printed.

Some one has expressed their whole mission, their whole ideal, fittingly as follows:

"Love for Canada and our country does

not seem to have really been awakened until this war began. The immortal fruits of life are not material well-being and physical content, but integrity, courage, reverence, and willingness to serve and to sacrifice; and true patriotism means unselfish public service. The volunteer workers are working for the Canada of to-morrow as well as for the Canada of to-day, because they are trying to minimize the fearful waste of infant and child life and because they are affording opportunity—not charity—to the soldiers' families for the fruitful development of the five essentials of normal life: health, education, recreation, employment, and spiritual development. The work is welfare work of the truest patriotic

character. Rarely in the history of the world does such a direct call to service come as comes in time of war. In times of peace material things blind us to the needs of others and to our own individual responsibilities and opportunities. If the call to higher service and away from self reaches the many as a result of this war, it will in some degree atone for the ghastly loss of life and the ruin of homes and countries which a misguided brute force has entailed upon mankind. For our soldiers' families, for our King and country, and for humanity we dedicate ourselves, praying for strength and courage to continue to the end, eager to learn, ready to serve, and willing to sacrifice."

JULIA WARD HOWE¹

BY ELIZABETH WALLACE

EXTENDING a decade beyond a full century, the lives of Dr. Samuel G. Howe and his wife, Julia Ward Howe, were fruitful in doctrine and deed, and are known to the reading public in unusual detail. Mrs. Howe's "Reminiscences" appeared when she was eighty, in 1899. Now we have two large volumes prepared by three of her daughters, containing copious extracts from her letters and journals, and adding the story of the remaining eleven years that brought Mrs. Howe's long life to its peaceful close.¹ Born and brought up in a large circle of intelligent relatives, with sufficient wealth to compass the desires of the dweller in New York during the early part of the nineteenth century, Mrs. Howe's girlhood might easily be paralleled in the homes of our grandmothers in the North. She, with others, was an exponent of the truly cultural results of the high moral and intellectual standards held by our forebears.

Devoted to the study of languages, literature, and music even before her marriage, the accomplished girl attracted attention and admiration from the literary and artistic folk of that period. Charles Sumner was Dr. Howe's *alter ego*, and wrote a warm note of congratulation when he became engaged to Miss Ward. Longfellow sent a similar letter. The bright letters written from abroad, where the first year of married

life was passed, are filled with girlish fun and comments upon the notable people who welcomed the pair. Dr. Howe's reputation had preceded him, and his irreverent young wife tells stories of "Big" Sydney Smith, Rogers, Monckton Milnes, Basil Montagu, Moore, Landseer, Mrs. Norton, and the Duchess of Sutherland. They spent "a strange but pleasant" evening with Carlyle, and, Mrs. Carlyle being out, the young American lady "poured tea for him." They dined merrily with Dickens. Of Sydney Smith she says, "Very like old Mrs. Prime, three chins and *such* a corporosity." They called on Maria Edgeworth, "gay and bright as a young girl, though seventy-five."

Wordsworth she dismisses as a "crabbed old sinner." Mrs. Wordsworth and her daughter received them very coldly and "whined about their recent losses in Louisiana investments," at which they were smartly told, "Why did you not keep your money at home? If we should speculate in your country we should no doubt be ruined also." "They held their tongues and we departed," leaving doubtless a pair of outraged Englishwomen. A gay winter was spent in Rome, with many delightful acquaintances. They returned to Boston by way of England, renewing friendships everywhere. She and Dr. Howe were, as every one knows, strongly influential wherever they appeared. Her journals reflect the development of her eager

¹ Julia Ward Howe, 1819-1910. By Laura E. Richards and Maud Howe Elliot. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. 2 vols. \$4.

mind and the growth of her intense interest in public affairs. Her witty comments on men and measures tempt to frequent quotation.

In a letter she writes: "Mr. Alger seized upon my left ear metaphorically and emptied into it all the five-syllable words that he knew, and the result was a mingling of active and passive lunacy, for I almost went mad and he had not far to go in that direction." In wayward mood she exclaimed, having dined with the Ticknors, a family of monumental dignity: "Oh, I am so cold! I have been dining with the *Tête Noir*, the *Mer(e) de Glace*, and the *Jungfrau*!"

She was fond of repeating a reply of Thomas Garrett's, whose house was for years a station of the Underground Railroad. "How did you manage it?" she asked. Many incidents in her later years show that his words sank deep into her mind: "It was borne in upon me at an early period that if I told no one what I intended to do I should be enabled to do it." This bit of Quaker wisdom guided her and filled her with mischievous glee when, in her great age, she eluded the tender surveillance of her daughters in order to go to some club or public meeting, where she was received like a royal personage. Though for years the idea of woman's suffrage was repugnant to her, she became a powerful advocate of the cause, was one of the founders of the "Woman's Journal," of Boston, and played a leading part in the story of the "advance of woman." She was glad to be present whenever, during forty years, the subject was presented to the Massachusetts Legislature. Once, in reply to the argument that the indifference and opposition of most women proved the movement wrong, she flashed back: "May I ask one question? Were the Apostles wrong in trying to bring about a better social condition when almost the whole community was opposed to them?"

She was a devoted friend and follower of James Freeman Clarke, a devout Unitarian, and frequently occupied the pulpit in that church. Her early revolt from the rigid Calvinism of her girlhood, her excursions into philosophy, her broadening vision of the world's needs and the demands of suffering humanity, brought her to very beautiful expression of her faith. In 1908 she wrote: "I do not desire ecstatic, disembodied sainthood, because I do not wish to abdicate any one of the attributes of my humanity." Later she wrote: "Quite suddenly it occurred to me to consider that Christ understood that spiritual life would not end with death, and that his expressed certainty as to the future life was founded upon his discernment of spiritual things. So, in so far as I am a Christian, I must believe in the immortality of the soul, as our Master surely did. I cannot understand why I have not thought of that before—I think now that I shall nevermore lose sight of it."

Amid all her rare gifts Mrs. Howe perhaps had deepest faith in and was most sensitive about her poetry, which is reminiscent of Thackeray's conviction that his art was that of the brush, not of the pen. Doubtless in future years the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," struck off at white heat, will constitute Mrs. Howe's greatest claim to patriotic literary fame, but her genius was really more that of personality, a woman whose aim in life was "to learn, to teach, to serve, to enjoy."

It is not necessary to recall the great philanthropic efforts in which the Howes were central figures. An admirable little book, "Two Noble Lives," by Laura E. Richards, will introduce younger readers to these notable figures, and the later detailed volumes will serve to inspire hundreds of older readers. The volumes are profusely illustrated with portraits of Mrs. Howe and her family.

NOCTURNE

BY ELIAS LIEBERMAN

"Watcher in the trenches,
How wears the night?"
"Nothing is seen in the midnight sky
But the trail of the death rockets flashing by:
So wears the night."

"Watcher in the trenches,
How wears the night?"
"A form in the starlight gasping its last,
The tail of a meteor shimmering past:
So wears the night."

"Watcher in the trenches,
How wears the night?"
"Darkness, darkness, then afar
The sudden glare of a man-made star:
So wears the night."

"Watcher in the trenches,
How wears the night?"
"Dawn flares up in the bloody east,
The vultures swoop to a carrion feast:
So wears the night."

"Dreamer in the tower,
How will it end?"
"The mists are shrouding a red, red sun,
Humans are blind and only One
May know the end."

BY THE WAY

The Philadelphia and Reading Railroad sends out a special baggage car each spring loaded with plants for flower-beds at about 150 different stations on its line. It employs a chief gardener to direct this work of beautifying its grounds in these various towns and cities.

"The next step toward the emancipation of the photoplay," says Professor Münsterberg in his new book "The Photoplay," "decidedly must be the creation of plays which speak the language of pictures only." This means the writing of scenarios which shall omit those tiresome printed "leaders" such as, "The Hero says, 'I love another,'" and which shall really tell the story entirely in pictures.

A complete camping outfit, according to "Popular Mechanics," may now be quickly attached to an automobile. It includes sleeping accommodations for two, a shower-bath with canvas shelter, a kitchen equipment with a gasoline stove, a chest with three commodious drawers, a camp table and two camp chairs, storage room for two suit-cases, etc. The outfit is inclosed in a steel case about three feet long, four feet wide, and three and a half feet high, which is fastened to the rear end of the car.

A thrift campaign is being conducted by the Railroad Young Men's Christian Associations along somewhat novel lines. One of the means of attracting attention to the work is the use of "sandwich" placards like this: "To-night at 8 o'clock in the School Auditorium! Bradford Band and Quartet. Lecture; subject, 'Treating a Porterhouse Steak Right.' Free! for everybody."

The non-resistance theory is pretty well condensed in a motto for America suggested by a prominent advocate of peace-at-any-price: "Not a Dollar for Self-Defense." The author of the motto frankly says that he does not believe in resenting insults. One wonders whether he would carry non-resistance to its logical limit and calmly allow a *Stegomyia* mosquito to bite him if he were in a yellow fever district.

Joseph Jefferson was wont to tell about meeting a modest-looking man in a New York hotel who said he had seen the actor with pleasure in a performance at Washington. Jefferson smiled and asked the gentleman's name. "Grant," was the reply. It was the ex-President! Jefferson's embarrassment was intense—but not more acute than that of a famous fellow-actor, Booth, when, according to a writer in the current "Harper's Magazine," he asked Tennyson for his autograph with a verse, and on Tennyson's inquiring what the verse should be, answered, "From 'The Brook' or 'The Bridge.'" Booth then realized that he had asked for a verse from one of Longfellow's poems!

The Indian names of natural objects in Glacier Park, Montana, have been superseded by commonplace American names, says a

writer in "Collier's." Going-to-the-Sun, Rising Wolf, Almost-a-Dog, and Red Eagle are certainly more picturesque as designations of mountains than Trapper Peak, Huckleberry Mountain, and Haystack Butte. When we have to rename lakes, rivers, and mountains, the work should be intrusted to some one with an imagination and a literary gift—such a person as Helen Hunt Jackson, for instance, whose names of the curious formations in the Garden of the Gods were original, dignified, and suggestive.

The high prices that are frequently paid for antique furniture, as quoted in the newspaper accounts of sales of household effects, give point, by contrast, to this paragraph from "The Industrial Student," of Camp Hill, Alabama:

We are frequently asked how much it will take to furnish a room for two boys. Thirty-five dollars will do this very nicely, giving two good strong three-quarter beds, with mattresses, two chairs, a substantial table, a chiffonier, mirror, rug, etc. A smaller sum might answer, but \$35 will do splendidly.

Apocryphal of the Shakespeare tercentenary, a daily newspaper records the death of "the Shakespeare of the New York police force," Oliver Tims by name. Sergeant Tims had learned seven of the bard's tragedies by heart, it is said. He could and did recite these plays on occasion, and was meticulously accurate in his lines. "One reporter," says his obituary notice, "who quoted him as using a split infinitive in one of his recitations earned his undying aversion for the insult."

A first edition of "Pickwick Papers" was sold in New York City at auction for \$5,350 the other day. Among the attractions of this copy were "all the advertisements" (the volume consists of the original parts inclosed in covers, advertising pages being inserted before and after the reading matter) and a page of the original MS. One of the regrets of the future book collector will be that there will be no original manuscripts of books of our own day—everything being now sent to the printer in characterless typewriting.

A curious side-light on the first edition of "Pickwick" is found in the pages of "Dickens and His Illustrators," by Mr. Frederick G. Kitton. According to this authority, Thackeray, then planning an artistic career, and Leech, afterwards famous as "Punch's" cartoonist, both tried to get the job of illustrating "Pickwick" and both were rejected because "neither possessed the necessary qualifications"!

Mechanical devices for repeating prayers (the "vain repetitions" of the heathen) are familiar in the East, but they are outdone, in saving of labor, by the "prayer flags" of Tibet. These, as described by Mr. J. C. White in the "National Geographic Magazine," are suspended on long lines, sometimes reaching across a river. As long as they are moving in the breeze they are supposed to be recording prayers for the benefit of those who put them up.